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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
DURING
THE REIGN
OF
GEORGE THE THIRD;

BY ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

*Author of the Biographical Sketches in the 'Cabinet of
Portraits,' &c.*

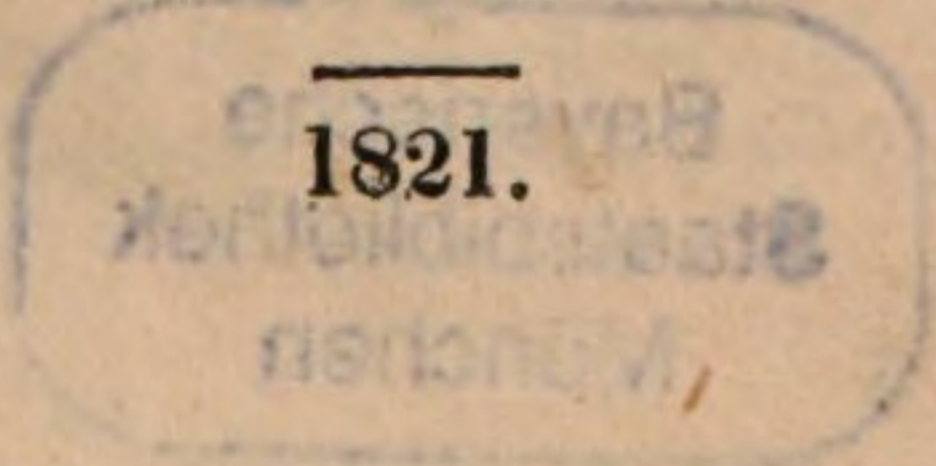
EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. IV.

London :

PUBLISHED BY J. ROBINS AND CO. ALBION PRESS,
IVY-LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1821.



THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND
FROM THE
NORMAN CONQUEST
TO THE
DEATH OF
GEORGE THE THIRD:

BY ROBERT SCOTT, ESQ.
Member of the High School of Edinburgh, and of the
Society of Antiquaries, &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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LONDON: Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

REPRINTED BY J. JOHNSON AND CO. LONDON 1825.
117-LANE, LONDON-WEST.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

HISTORY OF THE REIGN
OF
GEORGE THE THIRD.



CHAPTER XX.

State of the French government—Sanguinary proceedings—Overthrow of Robespierre and the Jacobins—Progress of the French in Holland—Escape of the Stadtholder—Embassy to China—Sweden and Denmark—Disputes with America—Meeting of Parliament—Address—Various motions in favour of peace—Habeas Corpus suspension—Imperial loan—Supplies—Motion for inquiry into the state of the nation—Slave trade—Earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, recalled, and consequent discontents of the Catholics—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Arrangement respecting his debts—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Prorogation of Parliament—Naval affairs—Occurrences in the West Indies—The French government concludes peace with Prussia, Spain, Hanover, Hesse, &c.—Operations in La Vendée, and unsuccessful result of an expedition to Quiberon Bay—Insurrection in Paris—Death of the Dauphin—New French Constitution—Return of the English army from the Continent—Hostile operations on the Rhine—War between England and Holland—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and other Dutch settlements—Final partition of Poland—Duke of York appointed Commander-in-chief—Unpopularity of the war

—Outrage against the King—Address in consequence—Speech from the throne—Address—Bills against treason and sedition—Scarcity of corn—Supplies—Message concerning negotiation with France—Birth of Princess Charlotte—A second loan agreed to—Motions for peace—Dissolution of Parliament.

THE Mountain party had no sooner obtained the ascendancy in France, than a new faction sprang up, denominated the Cordeliers, at the head of which were Hebert, Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz, and others, who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an Agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Virtue and ferocity were declared in the Convention, by the wretch Couthon, to be the requisite order of the day. On the 25th of March Hebert, and nineteen others, were, on a charge of conspiracy against the constitution, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, of course, condemned to the guillotine. These executions were followed by those of Fabre d'Eglantine, and other popular députies of the Convention, on pretence of their having engaged in counter-revolutionary projects. The arrest of Danton, who had voted for the death of the deputies, without imagining that he was so soon to follow them to the scaffold, took place on the 31st of March. It deserves notice that St. Just, in the report presented on this occasion, makes the profession of atheism a principal charge against Fabre d'Eglantine. The execution

of Danton and his fellow-sufferers, who fell under the fatal axe of the guillotine on the 2d of April, was followed by that of General Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the French army which, in the campaign of 1792, had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians. As the massacres which daily took place are too numerous for recital, only one more victim shall be noticed. The Princess Elizabeth, sister to the late King, a person of the most exemplary character, was charged with having conspired to restore royalty, with persons, many of whom she had never even seen: not a witness was produced, nor a single attempt made to substantiate any one fact alleged against her; she was, nevertheless, condemned to death, with twenty-four of her reputed accomplices; and she died, as she had lived, devout, tranquil, and resigned, considering the sentence which consigned her to the scaffold as a welcome passport to a better life.

About this time the Convention decreed that the remains of the celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau should be deposited in the beautiful church of St. Genevieve, now styled the Pantheon. "That illustrious patriot," said the president, "has left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the Divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers who profess neither to believe in a Providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only consolation of mankind in their last moments." Religion was now again the order of the day in the National Convention, and a decree was passed, by which the French nation recognised the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, declared the freedom of public worship, and appointed decades and other festivals.

On the 30th of May Barrere brought forward the infamous decree for allowing no quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops: but the French

officers and soldiery unanimously refused to carry this abominable mandate into execution; and the commander-in-chief of the British forces, on this occasion, to his lasting honour, declared, by a public proclamation, his unalterable resolution not to imitate this horrid barbarity.

Scarcely had Robespierre reached the summit of power, when the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. On the 10th of June, Bourdon de L'Oise, a member of the Conventional Assembly, demanded that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established, and that no member should be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the Assembly itself, instead of an order from the Committee of Safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. From this time the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, Barrere, took a secret, though efficient part, in plotting his overthrow. That Robespierre meditated the speedy destruction of all those whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifest; and it was rumoured that he meant, at the same time, openly to assume the office of Dictator of the Republic. On the 25th of July he delivered an oration in the Convention, in which he plainly indicated his future project. "What a terrible use," said he, "have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function." The speech was heard with symptoms of contempt; many things in it were contested; and it was evident that his influence in the Convention was lost. This was the critical moment: the armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was still at his devotion; but

his resolution, and even his sagacity, seemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining, and the applauses of the galleries attended the speeches of his opponents, who, on their part, perceived that they had already gone too far to recede. In the sitting of July the 27th, Billaud Varennes complained that the armed force of Paris was intrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot, said he, was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre. He then proceeded to recount his acts of blood and oppression; and accused him without reserve of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien moved that Henriot and all his staff be arrested; that their sittings be permanent, until the sword of the law had secured this revolution; and that Robespierre and his creatures be immediately arrested. These motions were passed amidst tumults of applause. Barrere was now called upon to speak in the name of the Committee of Public Safety; and after proposing that the national guard resume its original organization, and that the mayor of Paris be responsible for the safety of the national representation, he joined without reserve in the invectives against the fallen tyrant. Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted, without further resistance, to the decree of the Convention. Henriot, commander of the national guards, excited an insurrection in his favour, which was soon suppressed, when the insurgents, in the last agonies of wild despair, attempted to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth, with no greater effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance; Le Bas shot himself dead upon the

spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poinard; Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their desire, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. At six o'clock in the morning the Convention suspended its sitting. The victory being now decided, Robespierre, and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the Convention, were immediately conveyed to the Revolutionary Tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons, and then re-conveyed to the Palace of Justice, and on the evening of the same day, July the 28th, to the number of twenty-one, executed in the *Place de Revolution*, amid the loudest and most universal acclamations of joy ever known. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless, and petrified with horror.

After the fall of this tyrant, who closed his sanguinary career at the age of thirty-five, a general alteration and melioration took place in the different branches of the provisional government of France: the Jacobin Club was entirely demolished; the remains of the Girondist party were restored to their seats in the Convention; and Dumas, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, Carriere, conventional commissioner, the destroyer of La Vendée; and various others of the same description, lost their lives most deservedly on the scaffold. At the same time hundreds were released from the different state prisons, who, but for the death of Robespierre, would probably have fallen miserable victims to his tyranny; and the infamous decree of the Convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, was formally annulled. The royalists of La Vendée and La Loire had never been completely subdued, and thousands were still sheltered in the natural recesses of that romantic country, under

their leaders, Charette and Stofflet. A general amnesty, however, being now published, the greater part of them laid down their arms.

The distractions of the French government did not impair the vigour of its military operations, and the army under Pichegru waited only till the frost should set in, to commence a winter campaign on the frontiers of Holland. Though the conquest of that country was an enterprise in which the power of Louis the Fourteenth at its summit was foiled, success had now become more probable, for, since the restoration of the stadtholderate by the arms of Prussia, disaffection to the house of Orange and its supporters had greatly prevailed in the United Provinces, several of which had openly declared for the recognition of the French republic, and the abandonment of the connexion with Great Britain. The Duke of York endeavoured in vain to rouse the Dutch to energetic resistance, great numbers being favourably disposed towards the French, and the rest considering opposition hopeless: his royal highness, therefore, returned to England.

The frost set in with unusual rigour about the middle of December: in the course of a week the Maese and the Waal were frozen over; and, on the 27th, a strong column of French crossed the former of those rivers, while another corps made themselves masters of the Bommel. Pichegru did not make his grand movement till the 10th of January, 1795, when the main body of his forces crossed the Waal at different points, and made a general attack upon the lines of the allies, extending between Nimeguen and Arnheim, under the command of General Walmoden. The allies were defeated in every quarter, and a precipitate retreat was ordered towards Amersfort and Deventer. In this retreat, which differed little from a flight, the wretched fugitives were exposed to every species of distress.

From the want of common necessities in the allied army, a dreadful sickness and mortality prevailed; and the harassed and dispirited troops, exposed to the intense severity of the weather, the drifting snow, and heavy falls of sleet and rain, almost without clothing, frequently without sustenance, without medicines, without tents, littered down in cold and damp churches and other public buildings, expired by hundreds. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, surrendered to the French without resistance; and the Stadtholder, with his family, made his escape in an open boat from Scheveling on the 19th of January. On the succeeding day General Pichegru made his public entry into Amsterdam; and, by order of the States General, every other fortress in the republic opened its gates to the French. On the 27th of January the provisional representatives of the people of Holland assembled, and a decree immediately passed for the total abolition of the stadtholderate, and for the establishment, under the protection of the republic of France, of a new provisional government for the United Provinces, which were now denominated the Batavian Republic.

During the sanguinary extension of the war in Europe the King of Great Britain was anxious to enlarge his connexions in Asia by an alliance with the Emperor of China. The prevailing desire of commercial advantage, concurring with a wish to secure the friendship of a potentate whose influence extended to territories bordering on those of the English East India Company, induced the King to send an ambassador to treat with the Chinese court; and Earl Macartney, who had acquired reputation as Governor of Madras, with some able cultivators of science and skilful artists, sailed under the conduct of Sir Erasmus Gower. He reached the Yellow Sea in safety, passed up the White River to Tong-Choo-Foo, and thence proceed-

ed by land to the metropolis of China. Tchien-Lung, the aged emperor, who had already governed that vast empire with uninterrupted success and reputation more than half a century, was then at the palace of Zhe-hol, beyond the celebrated wall which had been erected as a barrier against the incursions of the Tartars. In a garden belonging to this mansion, in a splendid tent, the ambassador delivered a letter from the British Sovereign, in a box of gold, adorned with jewels, which was graciously received; but a spirit of jealousy disinclined the emperor to a treaty, and, after the exchange of mutual presents, it was hinted that the departure of the strangers would be agreeable. On the 9th of October, 1793, his excellency and suite left Pekin, and proceeded to Tong-Tchew, whence they were conveyed by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the southern extremity of China, reaching Canton in perfect safety, after a variety of amusing adventures, on the 18th of December; and in January following they embarked at Macao for England. The British settlements in India, at this period, enjoyed a season of tranquil repose under the government of Sir John Shore, the successor of Earl Cornwallis.

Sweden and Denmark still persevered in their determination of observing a perfect impartiality during the present war; and, on the 27th of March, a convention was concluded between them, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of commerce in the Baltic, on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780, equipping jointly a fleet of sixteen ships of the line for that service; and, by the tenth article, the Baltic was declared to be a neutral sea, absolutely and altogether inaccessible to the armed ships of the different and distant belligerent powers.

In the month of April Mr. Jay, Chief-Justice of the United States of America, arrived in England, as minister plenipotentiary, to adjust the existing

differences between that republic and the British government. Soon after the commencement of the war, orders were given for stopping all American vessels carrying corn to France, and detaining their cargoes, paying for them and the freights. This proceeding, which was resented by the Americans as an infraction of their independence, was followed by an order for seizing all American ships carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies, and also for obliging American ships, sailing from the British islands, to give security to land their cargoes in British or neutral ports. This order having occasioned the seizure of 600 American vessels within five months, that government showed its resentment by an embargo of thirty days on the British shipping. In addition to these grievances the memorial delivered by Mr. Jay to the British court complained of the severity used to American seamen, and of their being compelled to serve on board English men of war. Although these differences were finally attended with very serious effects, they were for the present compromised, both parties being pacifically disposed, and a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries was signed in November.

The British Parliament assembled on the 30th of December; and in the speech from the throne, while the disasters of the late campaign were admitted, the necessity of persisting in the war was strongly urged, as additional vigour and additional efforts were the only possible means of producing a successful result. In the House of Peers the Earl of Guildford moved an amendment to the address, and urged the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the present object of the war—the dictating of a government to France. The Marquis of Lansdowne declared that he could see no difficulty in treating with France at the present period,

nor could he admit the objection that there was no power existing in that country to treat with. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 107 to 12 voices. In the Commons, the address having been moved by Mr. Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, though an intimate friend of the minister, objected that the obvious tendency of the address was to pledge the House to a prosecution of the war till there should be a counter-revolution in France. The confederacy against France, he observed, was now dissolved, and her internal disorders were appeased; how then could we conquer a people who, when assailed by the combined forces of Europe from without, and when distracted with insurrections from within, had resisted with such success? He was aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France when that country was united in opinion and in act; and, though a friend to monarchy, he did not conceive a monarchy to be the fittest form of government for France, in present circumstances, as the current of prejudice set so strongly against it. He did not think this country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace; true magnanimity consisted in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determined to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required by an alteration in the state of affairs. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving an amendment to the address, embracing the principal topics contained in his speech. Several gentlemen having spoken in support of the amendment, Mr. Pitt rose, under visible emotion, and expressed his astonishment at the language of those members who, after voting for the war, had now become the advocates of peace. Neither the speech nor the address, he affirmed, pledged the House never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of a secure peace

till the return of the monarchy. The recent change which had taken place in France was a change in name, and not in substance ; and peace, could it be obtained, would not place us in a situation of confidence ; we must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Even if disposed to peace, the French rulers would be compelled by fear to give their troops new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to see it restored ; and we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France. In conclusion Mr. Pitt entered into a variety of details, to show that the French finances were in the very gulf of bankruptcy, and that the expenditure of the government, since the revolution, had amounted to three hundred and twenty millions. After an unusually long debate, the amendment was rejected by 246 against 75. This subject was frequently resumed during the session, on various motions by Earl Stanhope, Mr. Grey, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Wilberforce, all deprecating the idea of interfering in the government of other countries, and recommending the British government not to object to proposals for a general pacification, on account of the present circumstances of France ; but these motions were in succession strenuously opposed by ministers, and ultimately lost by large majorities.

The question relating to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was warmly debated on the 5th of January, 1795, when Mr. Sheridan moved for its repeal, in which he was unsuccessful ; and, on the 15th, the Attorney-General brought in a bill to continue the suspension for a limited time. This measure being carried in the Commons by a considerable majority, the bill was transmitted to the Lords, and passed that assembly also, but not without a protest against it, signed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the Earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

On the 4th of February Mr. Pitt delivered to the House of Commons a message from his Majesty, intimating that a loan to the amount of 4,600,000*l.* would be wanted to aid the exertions of the Emperor of Germany during the next campaign, on the credit of his hereditary dominions, which would probably require the guarantee of the British government. On the question that the national faith be pledged for the sum required, considerable discussion arose, in the course of which Mr. Fox said that the recent defalcation of the King of Prussia, immediately after pocketing the English gold, ought to operate as a caution against all advances of money to German princes ; and he had no confidence in the efficacy of the proposed loan ; Sir William Pulteney entertained a high opinion of its probable utility ; Lord Grenville had so much reliance on the promised exertions of his Imperial Majesty, that he would rather consent to make a present of the desired sum than lose the chance of expected benefit ; the Marquis of Lansdowne disapproved all connexions with German princes ; but Lord Hawkesbury, and other Peers, were more credulous and confident ; the proposition was agreed to by large majorities, and the loan was shipped to the Continent in sterling gold.

The business of supplies had now become a difficult task to the minister, when the only efficient ally of England could not proceed without pecuniary aid, and the necessity of making extraordinary exertions for carrying on the war was imperative. After previous discussions on the navy and army estimates, Mr. Pitt, on the 23d of February, submitted his annual statement to the consideration of the House. The number of men voted for the service of the year was, 150,000 landmen, including militia ; 85,000 seamen, and 15,000 marines ; the expenditure amounted to 27,540,000*l.* ; and the loan

proposed was 18,000,000*l.*, being the largest sum ever voted by Parliament up to that period. New taxes were imposed on wine, spirits, tea, coffee, ensurances, hair-powder, &c., which, with an abridgment of the privilege of franking, were estimated to produce 1,644,000*l.*, of which 357,000*l.* was to be applied to the progressive redemption of the debt. As a consolation for these additional burdens, the minister mentioned the extraordinary increase of commerce, which, in the preceding year, had exceeded that of the most flourishing period of peace.

Mr. Fox, availing himself of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce and a number of his friends from the court party, moved, on the 24th of March, that the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the nation, which was rejected by 219 against 63. A motion by Mr. Wilberforce, for the final abolition of the slave trade, was also lost by a majority of 17.

The affairs of Ireland formed one of the most important subjects that engaged the attention of the present Parliament, those violent animosities of the Irish Roman Catholics against the English government having this year taken root, which at length broke out into open rebellion, and have never since ceased to alienate the affections of a great portion of the people. Some malcontents had entered into secret connexions with the French revolutionists, and a plan for separating the island from the British dominions was strongly suspected, when Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman distinguished for his mild and conciliatory conduct, was placed at the head of the government—an appointment peculiarly acceptable to the Irish nation. The Parliament of the sister kingdom assembled on the 22d of January, 1795, and, after voting to the new viceroy an address expressive of the general satisfaction, agreed, without hesitation, to the most ample supplies ever granted

in that kingdom. The Lord-Lieutenant, finding it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the Catholics for the removal of the remaining disabilities under which they still continued to labour, employed in his transactions with the leading members of that body the celebrated Mr. Grattan, a statesman in whom the Catholics universally confided. A bill for their further relief was consequently introduced into the Irish Parliament, and the utmost joy was diffused through the country, in the expectation of this enlarged toleration, when intelligence arrived in Dublin that the British ministry avowed themselves adverse to the measure. The Lord-Lieutenant, after holding the government only three months, was displaced, and Lord Camden appointed in his stead. On the 24th of April Earl Fitzwilliam appeared in the English House of Peers, and challenged ministers to a full investigation of the nature of his instructions, and the cause of his removal; and, a profound silence ensuing on the other side of the House, the Duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to address the King, that those parts of the correspondence between Earl Fitzwilliam and the ministry, which related to his lordship's recall from his government in Ireland, should be forthwith laid before their lordships. This motion was debated in a full House on the 8th of May, being supported by the Duke of Leeds, Earl Moira, and Earl Fitzwilliam himself, who positively avowed that he went out expressly authorized to complete the measure of Catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the steps he had adopted for that purpose until he had proceeded to the dismissal of certain persons in office inimical to that measure, and had taken other gentlemen into his favour and confidence. Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal discussion of the subject, from reasons of state which he could not with propriety explain.

The motion, he observed, called upon ministers to violate the secrets of the cabinet and the sanctity of their oaths ; but he asked in what respect the situation of a Lord-Lieutenant differed from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure ? He had witnessed, he said, the removal of many Lords-Lieutenant, without a single complaint to Parliament on the subject ; and to adopt a new course would be to change the constitution, and to convert the House of Parliament into a Committee of Public Safety. After a long and vigorous debate the House divided—contents, 25 ; non-contents, 100. A similar motion in the House of Commons, moved by Mr. Jekyll, and seconded by Mr. Fox, was lost by a majority of 188 to 49.

The recall of Earl Fitzwilliam cast a deep gloom over Ireland ; and the arrival of his successor in the capital, on the 31st of March, was accompanied by so marked an ebullition of popular discontent, that the intervention of the military was found necessary. On the 13th of April the Irish Parliament assembled ; and on the 21st a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an inquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam ; but this motion was negatived by a large majority of the same Parliament which had almost unanimously supported all the measures of the preceding administration. On the 24th Mr. Grattan presented his memorable bill for Catholic emancipation ; but on the second reading it was rejected by seventy-one voices. From this period the political association, styled the Society of United Irishmen, rapidly extended itself over the whole country. All the Catholics, and a large proportion of the Protestants of the kingdom, joined this community ; and the leaders began to entertain dangerous designs, and to form illegal and treasonable connexions with the government of France. Agents were sent to nego-

tiate with the National Convention ; acts of sedition, rapine, and murder, were perpetrated by the most desperate ; while, on the other hand, the violent supporters of the system of exclusion confederated together for the purposes of security, under the name of Orangemen. Mutual injuries soon engendered a most inveterate hatred between these two descriptions of men, one of which was beyond comparison superior in number, and the other in property, in legal authority, and military force ; and these dissensions rapidly increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of terror, consternation, and blood.

An event of great national importance, though highly unfortunate in its results, as it affected both the illustrious parties, took place on the 8th of April, in the marriage of the heir-apparent, who espoused his royal father's niece, Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick and the Duchess Augusta of England ; and Lord Malmsbury was employed to conduct the royal bride from her father's court. On her arrival in England she was received with every mark of distinction due to her royal birth and illustrious alliance. The ceremony was performed in the chapel royal by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. It was generally understood that, in forming this connexion, his royal highness yielded to the solicitations of his august father, influenced by the promise of an ample provision for the discharge of his debts, which had increased to a vast amount, rather than to his own inclinations ; and this is the more probable from his known attachment at the time to Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom it was even stated that the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had taken place. Such, indeed, is the effect of the royal marriage act, that affection can have little

influence, where the illustrious parties seldom see each other till the eve of the ceremony, where foreign manners frequently create disgust on both sides, and where a foreign language tends to diminish that mutual interchange of sentiment which is the delight of an Englishman's fireside, and for the absence of which empty pomp and vain glory are but poor substitutes.

A message from his Majesty to the Commons, on the 27th of April, announced the royal marriage, and expressed the King's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was under pecuniary encumbrances, and recommended to Parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose a part of his income, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the House, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined that 125,000*l.*, together with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at 13,000*l.*, should be settled upon the prince, of which 78,000*l.* should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, amounting, at this period, to upwards of 600,000*l.*; and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the House, and a jointure of 50,000*l. per annum* was settled upon the Princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

The long trial of Mr. Hastings, which had lasted seven years, was now brought to a conclusion. After the Peers had investigated former modes of proceeding, the Lord-Chancellor (Loughborough), discussed the Benares charge. He considered Mr. Hastings as having acted against Cheyt Sing under

the influence of personal resentment, and under the unwarrantable idea of possessing an unlimited right of exaction in times of emergency; and therefore concluded that the Commons had made good that article of accusation. Lord Thurlow vindicated the governor-general in elaborate detail, but not always on constitutional principles. The Earl of Caernarvon strongly contended for his delinquency; while the Earl of Mansfield, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Bishop of Rochester, maintained his innocence, and extolled his services. The decision of the committee, on different parts of this charge, was, however, favourable to Mr. Hastings. In the consideration of the other charges, Lord Thurlow was the chief defender of the governor-general. He maintained that the resumption of the Jaghiers, on the part of the nabob, was a measure of sound policy; that the steps taken by Mr. Hastings to compel that prince to execute a scheme, which, though it was originally proposed by himself, he was afterwards unwilling to enforce, were meritorious rather than criminal; and that his consent to the seizure of the treasures involved no criminality, as they were public property. The Lord-Chancellor condemned the concern of Mr. Hastings in those measures, and denied that the Begums or their eunuchs had been guilty of rebellious acts. Lord Thurlow entered very fully into the charge respecting presents, controverting the statements and conclusions of the managers. The Chancellor also differed from the prosecutors with regard to the early presents, but agreed with them in the subsequent part of the charge. The Archbishop of York ridiculed this branch of accusation as frivolous, and lamented the ill return made for the splendid services of Mr. Hastings. The article of contracts did not appear to Lord Thurlow in that criminal light in which the managers viewed it; and the Bishop of Rochester,

though he thought there was something objectionable in the opium contract, did not consider that point, or any other part of this charge, as criminal; but the Chancellor contended that, in most of the contracts and agencies, Mr. Hastings had been profuse and improvident, and was also guilty of disobedience to the express orders of the directors. After some debates on the mode of proceeding, it was resolved that the question should be separately put on sixteen points. The greatest number of Peers who voted the defendant guilty in any one respect did not exceed six: the votes of innocence, in some of the charges, were twenty-six; in others, twenty-three; in one, nineteen. The Chancellor intimated the decision of the court to Mr. Hastings on the 23d of April, 1795, who received it in silence, bowed, and retired from the bar.

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with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to his dominions, and despairing of the subversion of the French republic, that prince seceded from the confederacy, and concluded a treaty on the 5th of April, by which he relinquished his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. By another agreement he secured the neutrality, and provided for the peace, of the north of Germany. The King of Spain was also induced to agree to a pacification with the victorious republic. In the former part of the year the French met with great success over the troops of the Spanish monarch, and threatened him not only with the loss of considerable provinces, but with the propagation of revolutionary doctrines among his people. To avert these dangers, the King of Spain purchased peace by the resignation of that part of the island of St. Domingo which the Spaniards had possessed ever since the time of Columbus. Even the Elector of Hanover, though he remained the most active member of the confederacy in his capacity of King of Great Britain, nevertheless ordered a treaty of peace to be signed with the French, as far as related to the electorate; as did also the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother of the Emperor, and first of all the potentates who had joined the coalition, was likewise induced to recognise the French republic; and through the intervention of his minister, Count Carletti, he concluded at Paris a separate treaty of peace with the Convention, and resumed openly his original system of neutrality. The Regent of Sweden, following the pacific policy of the Grand Duke, sent the Baron de Stael to Paris, to assure the French nation of the friendship entertained for them by the court of Stockholm.

As soon as Robespierre and his party had received the punishment due to their crimes, an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war in La

Vendée. After some preliminary negotiations in the beginning of February, Charette, and the principal chiefs of his army, on behalf of the Vendéans, and General Comartin on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future in subjection to the existing government. Conferences were opened at a farm-house near Nantes between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the Convention; and on the 7th of March a treaty of peace was concluded, signed, and ratified, at Nantes. The hopes, however, that this peace would be permanent, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on the plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated by a treaty of the 7th of March; and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. The British government, however, appeared unwilling to adopt any decisive plan of operations on the French coast, and determined to let the Royalists act for themselves, with such assistance of arms and money as England could afford. Agreeably to this decision, a small armament was prepared in the month of June: it consisted of all the emigrant nobility then in England, who had enlisted in their service, with more zeal than prudence; a number of French prisoners of war, who were Republicans in heart, and who only wanted an opportunity to return to their native country. The whole formed a body of about 3000 men, who were landed on a peninsula in the Bay of Quiberon, on the southern coast of Britany, on the 27th of June. Here they attacked a fort defended by 3000 Republicans, which they speedily reduced; and were, in a few days, joined by a body of Chouans, who increased their numbers to 12,000.

In order to confine the Royalists to the contracted space of the peninsula which they occupied, their opponents erected three forts at the neck of it. These the former attacked on the night of the 15th of July, and carried two of them; but being excessively galled by a masked battery, on their approach to the third, they were compelled to retreat; and were indebted for their safety to the seasonable fire from the British ships. The failure of this attempt produced dissensions among the Royalists, which were reported, with great exaggerations, no doubt, to the Republican general, Hoche, by those French prisoners who had been enlisted in England, and who now deserted. Through the treachery of these miscreants Hoche obtained the watch-word of the Royalists, whose camp he surprised in the night of the 20th of July, and took or slew the greater part of them. The young Count de Sombreuil, however, at the head of a gallant body of emigrants, continued to make such a desperate resistance, that Hoche was induced to enter into a capitulation with them, by which they were to be treated as prisoners of war, and their personal safety ensured. All the stores, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. Thus ended this abortive attempt, in which some of the best blood of ancient France was shed. Sombreuil and his gallant associates were, by a most scandalous breach of faith, tried, condemned, and executed, as traitors: 187 Royalists, including the Bishop of Dol, and several of his clergy, who had accompanied the expedition, were murdered in cold blood on this occasion. The British squadron hovered on the coast for some time, and, having failed in the attempt to take the island of Noirmoutier, succeeded in gaining possession of Isle Dieu, which they fortified.

The two parties who had combined to overthrow the tyranny of Robespierre soon showed that they

could not exist together; and on the 2d of March a report was presented to the Convention, in which Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and, after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed that they should be transported to Guiana. The proceedings against these deputies, united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the 1st of April, and was not suppressed till the following day. The trial of Fouquier Tinville, and of the ex-judges and jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal during the reign of terror, followed; and having been convicted of the mal-administration of public justice, and of having perverted the law to purposes of judicial murder, Tinville, and fifteen others, were executed on the morning of the 9th of May. Another insurrection took place in Paris on the 20th of May, when the rallying exclamation was, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793!" This was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed.

On the 9th of June the infant Capet, only son of the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, terminated his sufferings in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. On this event the Committee of Public Safety proposed the exchange of his sister, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria by Dumouriez, which was, after some delay, acceded to. The Count de Provence, the legitimate heir to the throne of the Bourbons, was now styled Louis the Eighteenth.

The plan of a new constitution was drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, and on the

23d of August declared complete. The legislative power was vested in two councils, the one consisting of 500, and the other of 250 members; to the former of which, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing, and to the latter, the Senate, or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws. The executive power was delegated to a Directory of five persons. On this constitution two decrees were ingrafted, which, in their consequences, plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution: by the first of these decrees, passed on the 5th Fructidor (August the 22d), it was enacted that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the Legislative Body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present Convention; and, by the second, that, in default of such election, the Convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds, and proceeded to acts of open hostility. On the 4th of October the sections, having drawn out their forces, marched them to the hall of the Convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided to Barras by the Convention; and on this occasion Napoleon Buonaparte first distinguished himself, as a commander, on that stage on which he afterwards became so prominent an actor. The different avenues of the Thuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who were driven from all their posts, with the loss of about 800 men; and the Convention, now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of the 5th of Fructidor. The labours of the Convention were now drawing to a close: on

the 30th of September they solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previously to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France: on the 27th of October it was decreed that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted; and the President, then rising, said, "The Convention is dissolved!" The members of the new legislature proceeded to the choice of the Directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list stood Reveillere Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party: the next was Reubel, a moderate man, also an attorney: Letourneur de la Marche, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the Mountain than the Plain, was the third: the fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, a soldier by profession, and a man of pleasure in habits: Sieyes, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he saw too clearly the difficulties of the constitution; and Carnot, a member of the Committee of Safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, "that he organized Victory, and rendered her permanent," filled up the number. Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxemburg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

It has been already seen that the English army, after the abandonment of Nimeguen, took the route of Arnheim and Deventer, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. They reached the last of these places at the end of January, closely

pursued by a far superior force. In their retreat they suffered incredible hardships ; the partial thaws which took place obliging the soldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water. After a very short halt at Deventer, the army moved towards the German frontier ; and on the 12th of February they crossed the Ems at Rheine, much harassed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the division commanded by Lord Cathcart was refused admission ; but, after a long series of disasters, the shattered remains of this fine body of troops, supposed, at their departure from England, to amount to 35,000 men, now reduced to about a fifth part of that number, reached the city of Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March, and soon afterwards embarked, on board the transports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe, for England.

The allied powers were not in a situation to take the field till the month of May ; and it was not till the 7th of June that the fortress of Luxemburg was attacked by the French troops. After its surrender, nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and to secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of Mentz, which had now been fruitlessly besieged for several months, the Austrians, commanded by Generals Clairfait and Wurmser, maintaining an uninterrupted intercourse with the garrison from Cassel, on the opposite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect investment was formed, a large body of the French troops, under Jourdan, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, which surrendered without resistance, the Austrians retiring to a strong position on the Lahn. Another body, commanded by Pichegru, effected the passage of the river at Mannheim, of which city they took immediate possession, on terms very favourable to the inhabitants. The investment of Mentz was now at last accom-

plished, and a confident hope was entertained of its speedy capitulation; but a division of Pichegru's army, being ordered to the attack of a post necessary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmser, now marching to the relief of Mentz, was overpowered, and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Manheim; and Jourdan, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his position no longer tenable. The Austrians also had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdan was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and he re-passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, much harassed by Clairfait in his retreat. The Austrians even pursued the enemy across the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, spreading terror over the country as far as Luxemburg. General Wurmser, on the other side, proceeded to the attack of Manheim. He immediately began a bombardment, which in a short time destroyed the principal buildings of that beautiful city, reducing it to a scene of desolation; and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The campaign was at length terminated by an armistice of three months.

The French having entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland, a proclamation was issued, on the 19th of January, containing peremptory orders to seize whatever Dutch vessels were found in the ports of Great Britain; in consequence of which five ships of war were secured, lying in Plymouth Sound, nine East Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels. On the 9th of February a third proclamation was published, authorizing the capture of all Dutch ships and property; and letters of marque and reprisal were also, after an interval of some months, granted; so that war against Holland was virtually declared; and, before the end of the summer, the famous settlement of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered with little resistance. The

conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Sir Alured Clarke. On the 14th of July a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated, with the supposed intention of being burnt. The troops, advancing towards the Cape-Town, carried the strong post of Muysenberg, when General Craig waited for a reinforcement from St. Salvador. After some weeks of inaction, an attempt to surprise the most considerable of the out-posts failed; and, though the English repelled a fierce attack, their efforts did not deter their adversaries from preparing for a general engagement. At this crisis the appearance of the expected reinforcement checked the eagerness of the enemy: the governor proposed a cessation of hostilities, and terms of capitulation were adjusted on the 16th of September, by which it was agreed that the troops in garrison should be prisoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch East India Company should be delivered up to the captors of the settlement; but private possessions and civil rights were left inviolate. In the course of the year, also, divers of the Dutch East Indian colonies fell into the hands of the English: amongst the rest, in August, Trincomalé; and, soon afterwards, Columbo, and the other Dutch settlements in the Isle of Ceylon; in October following, Malacca, situated on the peninsula of that name, and Chinsura, in the Bay of Bengal; also, about the same time, Cochin, valuable for its harbour, on the coast of Malabar.

For some time before the Prussian monarch finally withdrew from the contest with France, he had been evidently desirous of directing his whole attention to Poland, and of securing to himself a large share in the projected partition of the remainder of that unfortunate country, Russia having been

more actively engaged in shedding the blood of the patriots, and destroying their liberties. The Empress Catherine, persisting in her plan of being effective sovereign of the country, compelled the unhappy Poles to repeal all those laws, and to annul all those regulations, which were calculated to ensure their independence and happiness. It was not possible that a people who knew the value of freedom, and who possessed the spirit of men, could long endure a state of such intolerable bondage without making some effort to relieve themselves from these disgraceful shackles; and during these struggles Kosciusko appeared on the public stage. He was a soldier of fortune, accustomed to revolutions, active, energetic, full of resources, and ardently attached to his native country. Having collected a large body of people, early in 1794, he gained many advantages over the Prussians and Austrians, and restored the constitution which Catherine had suppressed. At this time 15,000 Russians were in the capital, who endeavoured, on the approach of Kosciusko, to make themselves masters of the arsenal; but they were successfully opposed by the armed citizens, and driven out of the city after a most desperate engagement. In May the Polish army amounted to nearly 70,000 men, exclusive of a numerous and warlike peasantry; but this force was dispersed in different bodies throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania, and the vast armies of the powers allied for their destruction were advancing upon them with rapid strides. The King of Prussia now entered Poland with a powerful army; laid siege to Cracow, which surrendered on the 15th of June; and, having collected all the Russians in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, formed the siege of the capital, the speedy reduction of which he regarded as a matter of certainty. Kosciusko, however, strained every nerve to collect an adequate

force for the frustration of his design, and, on the 11th of June, established himself in an advantageous position in front of the city. Here his army received constant reinforcements, and he was enabled to throw up formidable intrenchments, from which he battered the Prussian camp, and, after several weeks, compelled them reluctantly to raise the siege on the 5th of September. But the triumph of the Poles was of short duration: a powerful army of Russians now entered their country, under the command of Suwarrow, the celebrated conqueror of Ismael, bore down all opposition, and, after defeating 6,000 Poles, under Kosciusko, on the 10th of October, and taking their general prisoner, advanced against the capital itself. The city had a garrison of 10,000 men, under the Generals Madalinski and Dombrowski, who resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The assailants, under Suwarrow, amounted to 60,000, and the Russian general determined to take it by assault. The conflict was sustained with desperate courage and unshaken resolution for eight hours, when the Russians obtained possession of the suburb of Praga, where they committed a dreadful slaughter. The city being now incapable of further resistance, a proposal was made to capitulate. Warsaw was delivered up on the 19th of September; and before the close of the year the whole country was completely subjugated. The Polish monarchy was dissolved; its territory divided between the three neighbouring powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and its Sovereign degraded into a miserable stipendiary of the court of St. Petersburg. In this instance the three potentates, who had first and most loudly reprobated the outrageous conduct of the French revolutionists, concurred in pursuing a similar line of conduct themselves. Without the smallest provocation, or any colourable pretext,

influence, where the illustrious parties seldom see each other till the eve of the ceremony, where foreign manners frequently create disgust on both sides, and where a foreign language tends to diminish that mutual interchange of sentiment which is the delight of an Englishman's fireside, and for the absence of which empty pomp and vain glory are but poor substitutes.

A message from his Majesty to the Commons, on the 27th of April, announced the royal marriage, and expressed the King's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was under pecuniary encumbrances, and recommended to Parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose a part of his income, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the House, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined that 125,000*l.*, together with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at 13,000*l.*, should be settled upon the prince, of which 78,000*l.* should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, amounting, at this period, to upwards of 600,000*l.*; and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the House, and a jointure of 50,000*l. per annum* was settled upon the Princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

The long trial of Mr. Hastings, which had lasted seven years, was now brought to a conclusion. After the Peers had investigated former modes of proceeding, the Lord-Chancellor (Loughborough), discussed the Benares charge. He considered Mr. Hastings as having acted against Cheyt Sing under

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Notwithstanding their disparity of naval force, the French, after recovering the whole of Guadeloupe, attacked, with success, the fort of Tiburon, in St. Domingo, and made themselves masters of St. Eustatius. St. Lucia, after a violent and bloody conflict, was reluctantly evacuated by the Governor-General, Stewart; and Grenada, Dominico, and St. Vincent's, were preserved with great difficulty. Of those whom the sword spared, many were taken off by the ravages of the yellow fever. In Jamaica a bloody and cruel war long subsisted with the Maroons, a hostile and dangerous tribe, who, on the surrender of the island by the Spaniards to the English, refused to submit to the latter, and had since occupied the mountainous part of the country. After many conflicts, in which they were nearly exterminated, those who remained consented to be removed to Canada, where a portion of land was allotted to them.

Though the French had been very successful on the Continent, they were by no means unwilling to diminish, by negotiation, the number of their enemies. They courted the King of Prussia into forbearance, and persuaded him that his safety and interest required peace. Having annexed two great commercial cities, Dantzic and Thorn, together

with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to his dominions, and despairing of the subversion of the French republic, that prince seceded from the confederacy, and concluded a treaty on the 5th of April, by which he relinquished his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. By another agreement he secured the neutrality, and provided for the peace, of the north of Germany. The King of Spain was also induced to agree to a pacification with the victorious republic. In the former part of the year the French met with great success over the troops of the Spanish monarch, and threatened him not only with the loss of considerable provinces, but with the propagation of revolutionary doctrines among his people. To avert these dangers, the King of Spain purchased peace by the resignation of that part of the island of St. Domingo which the Spaniards had possessed ever since the time of Columbus. Even the Elector of Hanover, though he remained the most active member of the confederacy in his capacity of King of Great Britain, nevertheless ordered a treaty of peace to be signed with the French, as far as related to the electorate; as did also the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother of the Emperor, and first of all the potentates who had joined the coalition, was likewise induced to recognise the French republic; and through the intervention of his minister, Count Carletti, he concluded at Paris a separate treaty of peace with the Convention, and resumed openly his original system of neutrality. The Regent of Sweden, following the pacific policy of the Grand Duke, sent the Baron de Stael to Paris, to assure the French nation of the friendship entertained for them by the court of Stockholm.

As soon as Robespierre and his party had received the punishment due to their crimes, an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war in La

Vendée. After some preliminary negotiations in the beginning of February, Charette, and the principal chiefs of his army, on behalf of the Vendéans, and General Comartin on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future in subjection to the existing government. Conferences were opened at a farm-house near Nantes between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the Convention; and on the 7th of March a treaty of peace was concluded, signed, and ratified, at Nantes. The hopes, however, that this peace would be permanent, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on the plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated by a treaty of the 7th of March; and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. The British government, however, appeared unwilling to adopt any decisive plan of operations on the French coast, and determined to let the Royalists act for themselves, with such assistance of arms and money as England could afford. Agreeably to this decision, a small armament was prepared in the month of June: it consisted of all the emigrant nobility then in England, who had enlisted in their service, with more zeal than prudence; a number of French prisoners of war, who were Republicans in heart, and who only wanted an opportunity to return to their native country. The whole formed a body of about 3000 men, who were landed on a peninsula in the Bay of Quiberon, on the southern coast of Britany, on the 27th of June. Here they attacked a fort defended by 3000 Republicans, which they speedily reduced; and were, in a few days, joined by a body of Chouans, who increased their numbers to 12,000.

In order to confine the Royalists to the contracted space of the peninsula which they occupied, their opponents erected three forts at the neck of it. These the former attacked on the night of the 15th of July, and carried two of them; but being excessively galled by a masked battery, on their approach to the third, they were compelled to retreat; and were indebted for their safety to the seasonable fire from the British ships. The failure of this attempt produced dissensions among the Royalists, which were reported, with great exaggerations, no doubt, to the Republican general, Hoche, by those French prisoners who had been enlisted in England, and who now deserted. Through the treachery of these miscreants Hoche obtained the watch-word of the Royalists, whose camp he surprised in the night of the 20th of July, and took or slew the greater part of them. The young Count de Sombreuil, however, at the head of a gallant body of emigrants, continued to make such a desperate resistance, that Hoche was induced to enter into a capitulation with them, by which they were to be treated as prisoners of war, and their personal safety ensured. All the stores, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. Thus ended this abortive attempt, in which some of the best blood of ancient France was shed. Sombreuil and his gallant associates were, by a most scandalous breach of faith, tried, condemned, and executed, as traitors: 187 Royalists, including the Bishop of Dol, and several of his clergy, who had accompanied the expedition, were murdered in cold blood on this occasion. The British squadron hovered on the coast for some time, and, having failed in the attempt to take the island of Noirmoutier, succeeded in gaining possession of Isle Dieu, which they fortified.

The two parties who had combined to overthrow the tyranny of Robespierre soon showed that they

could not exist together; and on the 2d of March a report was presented to the Convention, in which Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and, after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed that they should be transported to Guiana. The proceedings against these deputies, united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the 1st of April, and was not suppressed till the following day. The trial of Fouquier Tinville, and of the ex-judges and jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal during the reign of terror, followed; and having been convicted of the mal-administration of public justice, and of having perverted the law to purposes of judicial murder, Tinville, and fifteen others, were executed on the morning of the 9th of May. Another insurrection took place in Paris on the 20th of May, when the rallying exclamation was, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793!" This was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed.

On the 9th of June the infant Capet, only son of the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, terminated his sufferings in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. On this event the Committee of Public Safety proposed the exchange of his sister, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria by Dumouriez, which was, after some delay, acceded to. The Count de Provence, the legitimate heir to the throne of the Bourbons, was now styled Louis the Eighteenth.

The plan of a new constitution was drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, and on the

23d of August declared complete. The legislative power was vested in two councils, the one consisting of 500, and the other of 250 members; to the former of which, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing, and to the latter, the Senate, or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws. The executive power was delegated to a Directory of five persons. On this constitution two decrees were ingrafted, which, in their consequences, plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution: by the first of these decrees, passed on the 5th Fructidor (August the 22d), it was enacted that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the Legislative Body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present Convention; and, by the second, that, in default of such election, the Convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds, and proceeded to acts of open hostility. On the 4th of October the sections, having drawn out their forces, marched them to the hall of the Convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided to Barras by the Convention; and on this occasion Napoleon Buonaparte first distinguished himself, as a commander, on that stage on which he afterwards became so prominent an actor. The different avenues of the Tuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who were driven from all their posts, with the loss of about 800 men; and the Convention, now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of the 5th of Fructidor. The labours of the Convention were now drawing to a close: on

the 30th of September they solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previously to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France : on the 27th of October it was decreed that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted ; and the President, then rising, said, “ The Convention is dissolved ! ” The members of the new legislature proceeded to the choice of the Directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list stood Reveillere Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party : the next was Reubel, a moderate man, also an attorney : Letourneur de la Marche, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the Mountain than the Plain, was the third : the fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, a soldier by profession, and a man of pleasure in habits : Sieyes, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he saw too clearly the difficulties of the constitution ; and Carnot, a member of the Committee of Safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, “ that he organized Victory, and rendered her permanent,” filled up the number. Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxemburg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

It has been already seen that the English army, after the abandonment of Nimeguen, took the route of Arnheim and Deventer, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. They reached the last of these places at the end of January, closely

pursued by a far superior force. In their retreat they suffered incredible hardships ; the partial thaws which took place obliging the soldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water. After a very short halt at Deventer, the army moved towards the German frontier ; and on the 12th of February they crossed the Ems at Rheine, much harassed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the division commanded by Lord Cathcart was refused admission ; but, after a long series of disasters, the shattered remains of this fine body of troops, supposed, at their departure from England, to amount to 35,000 men, now reduced to about a fifth part of that number, reached the city of Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March, and soon afterwards embarked, on board the transports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe, for England.

The allied powers were not in a situation to take the field till the month of May ; and it was not till the 7th of June that the fortress of Luxemburg was attacked by the French troops. After its surrender, nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and to secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of Mentz, which had now been fruitlessly besieged for several months, the Austrians, commanded by Generals Clairfait and Wurmser, maintaining an uninterrupted intercourse with the garrison from Cassel, on the opposite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect investment was formed, a large body of the French troops, under Jourdan, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, which surrendered without resistance, the Austrians retiring to a strong position on the Lahn. Another body, commanded by Pichegru, effected the passage of the river at Mannheim, of which city they took immediate possession, on terms very favourable to the inhabitants. The investment of Mentz was now at last accom-

plished, and a confident hope was entertained of its speedy capitulation; but a division of Pichegru's army, being ordered to the attack of a post necessary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmser, now marching to the relief of Mentz, was overpowered, and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Mannheim; and Jourdan, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his position no longer tenable. The Austrians also had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdan was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and he re-passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, much harassed by Clairfait in his retreat. The Austrians even pursued the enemy across the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, spreading terror over the country as far as Luxemburg. General Wurmser, on the other side, proceeded to the attack of Mannheim. He immediately began a bombardment, which in a short time destroyed the principal buildings of that beautiful city, reducing it to a scene of desolation; and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The campaign was at length terminated by an armistice of three months.

The French having entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland, a proclamation was issued, on the 19th of January, containing peremptory orders to seize whatever Dutch vessels were found in the ports of Great Britain; in consequence of which five ships of war were secured, lying in Plymouth Sound, nine East Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels. On the 9th of February a third proclamation was published, authorizing the capture of all Dutch ships and property; and letters of marque and reprisal were also, after an interval of some months, granted; so that war against Holland was virtually declared; and, before the end of the summer, the famous settlement of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered with little resistance. The

conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Sir Alured Clarke. On the 14th of July a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated, with the supposed intention of being burnt. The troops, advancing towards the Cape-Town, carried the strong post of Muysenberg, when General Craig waited for a reinforcement from St. Salvador. After some weeks of inaction, an attempt to surprise the most considerable of the out-posts failed; and, though the English repelled a fierce attack, their efforts did not deter their adversaries from preparing for a general engagement. At this crisis the appearance of the expected reinforcement checked the eagerness of the enemy: the governor proposed a cessation of hostilities, and terms of capitulation were adjusted on the 16th of September, by which it was agreed that the troops in garrison should be prisoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch East India Company should be delivered up to the captors of the settlement; but private possessions and civil rights were left inviolate. In the course of the year, also, divers of the Dutch East Indian colonies fell into the hands of the English: amongst the rest, in August, Trincomalé; and, soon afterwards, Columbo, and the other Dutch settlements in the Isle of Ceylon; in October following, Malacca, situated on the peninsula of that name, and Chinsura, in the Bay of Bengal; also, about the same time, Cochin, valuable for its harbour, on the coast of Malabar.

For some time before the Prussian monarch finally withdrew from the contest with France, he had been evidently desirous of directing his whole attention to Poland, and of securing to himself a large share in the projected partition of the remainder of that unfortunate country, Russia having been

more actively engaged in shedding the blood of the patriots, and destroying their liberties. The Empress Catherine, persisting in her plan of being effective sovereign of the country, compelled the unhappy Poles to repeal all those laws, and to annul all those regulations, which were calculated to ensure their independence and happiness. It was not possible that a people who knew the value of freedom, and who possessed the spirit of men, could long endure a state of such intolerable bondage without making some effort to relieve themselves from these disgraceful shackles; and during these struggles Kosciusko appeared on the public stage. He was a soldier of fortune, accustomed to revolutions, active, energetic, full of resources, and ardently attached to his native country. Having collected a large body of people, early in 1794, he gained many advantages over the Prussians and Austrians, and restored the constitution which Catherine had suppressed. At this time 15,000 Russians were in the capital, who endeavoured, on the approach of Kosciusko, to make themselves masters of the arsenal; but they were successfully opposed by the armed citizens, and driven out of the city after a most desperate engagement. In May the Polish army amounted to nearly 70,000 men, exclusive of a numerous and warlike peasantry; but this force was dispersed in different bodies throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania, and the vast armies of the powers allied for their destruction were advancing upon them with rapid strides. The King of Prussia now entered Poland with a powerful army; laid siege to Cracow, which surrendered on the 15th of June; and, having collected all the Russians in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, formed the siege of the capital, the speedy reduction of which he regarded as a matter of certainty. Kosciusko, however, strained every nerve to collect an adequate

force for the frustration of his design, and, on the 11th of June, established himself in an advantageous position in front of the city. Here his army received constant reinforcements, and he was enabled to throw up formidable intrenchments, from which he battered the Prussian camp, and, after several weeks, compelled them reluctantly to raise the siege on the 5th of September. But the triumph of the Poles was of short duration: a powerful army of Russians now entered their country, under the command of Suwarrow, the celebrated conqueror of Ismael, bore down all opposition, and, after defeating 6,000 Poles, under Kosciusko, on the 10th of October, and taking their general prisoner, advanced against the capital itself. The city had a garrison of 10,000 men, under the Generals Madalinski and Dombrowski, who resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The assailants, under Suwarrow, amounted to 60,000, and the Russian general determined to take it by assault. The conflict was sustained with desperate courage and unshaken resolution for eight hours, when the Russians obtained possession of the suburb of Praga, where they committed a dreadful slaughter. The city being now incapable of further resistance, a proposal was made to capitulate. Warsaw was delivered up on the 19th of September; and before the close of the year the whole country was completely subjugated. The Polish monarchy was dissolved; its territory divided between the three neighbouring powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and its Sovereign degraded into a miserable stipendiary of the court of St. Petersburg. In this instance the three potentates, who had first and most loudly reprobated the outrageous conduct of the French revolutionists, concurred in pursuing a similar line of conduct themselves. Without the smallest provocation, or any colourable pretext,

they invaded the kingdom of an independent power, dictated laws to him in his capital, destroyed the constitution of his country, murdered his subjects for their loyalty and patriotism, and, finally, hurled him from the throne. An act of greater violence and injustice stains not the annals of guilty ambition.

Early in 1795, Lord Amherst retiring from public life, the Duke of York was appointed Commander-in-chief and Field-marshal General of the Forces of Great Britain; the Duke of Richmond was removed from his post of Master of the Ordnance, in which he was succeeded by Earl, recently created Marquis, Cornwallis; and Sir William Howe was nominated, in the place of the latter nobleman, Governor and Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

At this time a spirit of discontent pervaded the country, and petitions for peace from London, York, Norwich, Hull, Manchester, &c. were presented; but they were not sufficiently general to produce any material impression, and their influence was counteracted by counter-petitions, expressive of a reliance in the wisdom of government, and in their readiness to enter upon negotiations for peace whenever the proper period should arrive. In July, however, some serious riots, which continued for several days, took place in Westminster, arising out of the excesses committed in several crimping-houses in that city; and the mob, which evinced a marked aversion to the prime minister, repaired to his house in Downing-street, where they broke the windows, and were proceeding to further excesses; but Mr. Pitt escaped, by the Park gate, into the Horse-Guards, and the presence of a body of military soon restored the public tranquillity. In the autumn great apprehensions were excited by large assemblages of the populace, convened by the Corresponding Society, which still continued its meetings; and, on the 26th of October, not less

than 40,000 persons assembled in a field near Copenhagen House, in the vicinity of the metropolis, for the purpose of voting a number of resolutions expressive of their views of the measures of government; and a petition, praying that the bill recently introduced into the House for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention, of popular assemblies, for the purpose of political investigation, might be dismissed with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserved. To increase the agitations produced by the conflicts of parties, a scarcity arising almost to famine prevailed throughout the kingdom. This scarcity was occasioned (in part, at least) by an alarming deficiency in the year's crop, which had suffered extremely by incessant rains. The state of the nation from these circumstances appeared so critical, that it was judged expedient to assemble Parliament at an earlier period than usual.

On the 29th of October, the day fixed for the meeting, an unusual concourse of people assembled in the Park; and, as his Majesty passed to the House, violent exclamations were heard of "Peace! Bread! No Pitt! No war!" The clamour increasing, stones were thrown at the royal carriage as it proceeded through the streets of Westminster; and from a house, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air-gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On entering the House of Peers his Majesty, in some perturbation, addressing the Lord-Chancellor, said, "My lord, I have been shot at." The rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted; for, on his return from the House, the King was again assailed in the Park; and to such a pitch did the mob carry their resentment, that one party of them attacked and nearly demolished the state carriage as it returned empty from St. James's; while another at-

tempted to stop the private carriage of the King, in which he had seated himself for the purpose of joining his family at the Queen's House, and even to force open the carriage doors. At this critical moment the arrival of a party of the life-guards dispersed the populace, and the King, with great difficulty, reached the Queen's House. So gross an outrage as this had never been offered to any other monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles the First. A reward of 1000*l.* was immediately offered, to be paid on conviction of any person concerned in this daring and criminal assault; but no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. The only person brought to punishment was Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, who was found to have been among the hissers and disturbers of the King's peace, of which crime he was convicted, and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement in the Penitentiary-house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory.

The outrage committed upon the Sovereign excited great consternation in the House of Lords; and, as soon as the King withdrew, the ministers had a short consultation as to the proper mode of proceeding on so extraordinary an occasion. It was at length determined to postpone the consideration of the speech from the throne to the following day, and immediately to form the House into a committee of privileges. This being done, Lord Grenville apprized the Peers of the attack which the King had sustained on his way to the House. Some witnesses were next examined, who proved that, after the royal carriage had passed the gateway at the Horse-Guards, there were frequent exclamations of "Down with George! No King!" and many stones were thrown at the coach by the mob. When all the facts had been established, a conference was proposed with the Commons, and a joint address

was presented to the King, in which the two Houses avowed their indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrage offered to his Majesty, and requested that he would be pleased to direct the most effectual measures to be taken, without delay, for discovering the authors and abettors of crimes so atrocious. The proclamation, which was immediately issued, offering a large reward for the discovery of the offenders, also stated, that previously to the opening of Parliament a meeting had been holden in the vicinity of the metropolis, at which inflammatory speeches were delivered, and divers means used to sow discontent, and to excite seditious proceedings ; and it required all magistrates and other well-affected subjects to exert themselves in preventing and suppressing all unlawful meetings, and the dissemination of seditious writings.

In the speech from the throne the King expressed his satisfaction at the improved state of public affairs, arising from the measures which had been adopted for preventing the invasion of Italy and Germany by the French ; the crisis brought about by the prevalence of anarchy at Paris was represented as likely to produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe ; and, should that crisis terminate in any order of things affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a wish to negotiate for a general peace on just and suitable terms would not fail to be met by the King with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. The speech notified that treaties of defensive alliance had been concluded with the two Imperial courts, and that a commercial treaty had been ratified with America. The address having been proposed by Lord Dalkeith, Mr. Fox moved an amendment asserting the ability of the French government to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and

amity with other nations, and praying his Majesty to give directions to his ministers to offer such terms to the French republic as would be consistent with the honour of his crown, and with the security and interests of his people. This amendment was negatived by a large majority.

In consequence of the late excesses, two bills were brought into Parliament; one "for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts," and the other "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." These bills had for their object the restriction of the right hitherto possessed by the people of assembling for the purposes of petitioning the crown and legislature, and of discussing political subjects: they materially extended the law of high treason, and aggravated the punishment of sedition; and were warmly opposed in each step of their passage through both Houses, as violent and unnecessary encroachments on the privileges granted by the constitution; but were carried by more than the usual majority, such was the impression made by the intemperate proceeding which had taken place. Their duration, however, was limited to three years.

During these stormy discussions the senate was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn. It appeared, from the information laid before a committee of the House appointed to inquire into this subject, that the principal failure in the late harvest had been the crop of wheat, and a bounty of 20s. per quarter was in consequence ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; 15s. per quarter on that from America; and 5s. per quarter on Indian corn. Bills were also passed for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain; and for faci-

litating the cultivation of waste lands ; and a considerable number of enclosure bills passed the House in the course of this session of Parliament.

On the 4th of November Lord Arden moved that 110,000 seamen, including 18,000 marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1796 ; and Mr. Windham, on the same occasion, proposed that 207,000 men should be employed in the land service. These motions being carried, Mr. Pitt brought forward, on the 7th of December, a proposal to negotiate a loan of 18,000,000*l.*, and stated the sum of 27,500,000*l.* to be the estimated expenses of the approaching year.

A message was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of December, announcing the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of a readiness on the part of the British government to meet any proposal for negotiation, on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace. On the following day Mr. Pitt moved an address, thanking his Majesty for his most gracious communication. This address gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment, disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negotiation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat: where then could be the objection of declaring that she would treat with France ? To this reasoning ministers observed, that it was highly proper and expedient that the executive government should be left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

The year 1796 was ushered in by the birth of the deeply-lamented princess, whose loss, twenty years afterwards, excited a greater share of national sorrow than any similar event in this reign. Her royal highness, the only child of the Prince and Princess of Wales, was born on the 7th of January, and baptized Charlotte, in compliment to her august grandmother, the Queen of England.

Parliament having assembled after the Christmas recess, Mr. Grey moved, on the 15th of February, an address to the King, praying him to communicate to the executive government of France his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate a general peace. This motion was resisted on the same grounds as the amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion, previously moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a proposition, which was agreed to, for a second loan, to the amount of seven millions and a half, in order to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper, constituting the unfunded debt. Early in May motions were made in both Houses for the appointment of committees of finance, to ascertain how far the public expense had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by Parliament; but these motions were negatived by very large majorities.

On the 10th of May an address to the King was moved, in the Upper House by the Earl of Guildford, and in the Lower House by Mr. Fox, declaring that the duty incumbent on Parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country was then subjected, had arisen from the misconduct of the King's ministers, and was likely to exist and increase as long as the same principles which had hitherto guided these ministers should

continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain. Mr. Fox enlarged much on "that most fatal of all the innumerable errors of ministers," their rushing into a ruinous and unnecessary war, instead of mediating between France and the allied powers. Had they, said he, counselled his Majesty to accept the grateful office of mediator, it would have added lustre to the national character, and placed Britain in the exalted situation of arbitress of the world. Mr. Pitt insisted that his Majesty could not have interposed his mediation without incurring the hazard of involving himself in a war with that power which should have refused his terms. He expatiated on the danger arising to all Europe from the revolutionary decree of the 19th of November, and the insult offered to this country in particular in the encouragement given to the seditious and treasonable addresses presented to the Convention, by whom the bearers of them were cherished, applauded, and caressed; and, while the negotiations were yet pending, war was actually declared by France: that country, therefore, and not England, was the aggressor. This nation had no alternative; and, after a war of more than three years—a war approved and sanctioned by that House by repeated votes and declarations—a war justifiable on every principle of morality, and essential to the very existence of our constitution, would the House now acknowledge themselves in a delusion? Would they submit to the humiliating degradation of falsely arraigning themselves, and of passing on their own acts a sentence of condemnation? It was a war of which the necessity and policy were manifest; and, if the country should at any time suffer a disastrous reverse of fortune, he would exhort them not to yield to a temporary pressure; but, on the contrary, to redouble their efforts, in order to surmount their difficulties, and finally to

obtain safe and honourable conditions of peace. Nor, on the other hand, if success were gained, should the prospect of obtaining more and further advantages be relinquished by a premature readiness to make peace. These arguments were deemed conclusive, and the motions of both Mr. Fox and Lord Guildford were lost by immense majorities. The public business being now concluded, his Majesty terminated the session of Parliament, on the 19th of May, with a speech from the throne, expressive of the highest approbation of the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness, which had appeared in all their proceedings since their first meeting in that place; and on the following day the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

CHAPTER XXI.

Hostile operations in Italy and Germany—Disturbances in La Vendée terminated—Success of the British in the West Indies—Capture of a Dutch squadron in Saldanha Bay—Evacuation of Corsica by the British—Invasion of Ireland attempted by the French—Naval operations—Differences between France and America—Spain and Holland declare war against Great Britain—State of France—Measures against British commerce—Death of the Empress of Russia and King of Sardinia—Opening of the new Parliament—Negotiations for peace—Unsuccessful result—Debates thereon—Motions for censure on ministers—Increase of the national force—Financial measures—Suspension of cash payments by the Bank—Debates thereon—Alarming mutiny in the navy—Motion respecting discontents in Ireland—Motions for dismissal of ministers—Reform—Parliament prorogued—Naval operations—Admiral Jervis's victory off Cape St. Vincent—Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown—Bombardment of Cadiz—Capture of Trinidad—Failure at Porto Rico—Unsuccessful attempt on Teneriffe—French troops land in Wales—Surrender of Mantua, and expulsion of the Austrians from Italy—Peace between France and the Papal See—The French advance into the hereditary dominions, and compel the Emperor to make peace—Subversion of the governments of Venice and Genoa by the French—Treaty of Campo Formio—Internal affairs of France—Marriage of the Princess Royal, and death of the King of Prussia.

THE campaign of 1796 was distinguished by the most extraordinary and important events. The pre-

vious operations on the Rhine having terminated favourably to the Austrians, the French government determined to make a powerful diversion in Italy, under the command of Buonaparte, in which the Republican arms were eminently successful. In the month of April he entered the territory of the Genoese republic, and quickly evinced, on different occasions, those extraordinary talents for war which afterwards elevated him to the summit of power and fame. Soon after the campaign opened Buonaparte found himself at the head of more than 60,000 men, 45,000 of which were under his immediate command; and Kellerman, who headed the army of the Alps, as it was called, had 25,000. The Austrian army, under General Beaulieu, comprised about 35,000 effective men, including a Neapolitan corps of about 7000: the Piedmontese army, commanded by the Austrian General Colli, amounted to 20,000, and was employed in defending the different approaches to Piedmont; and the Duc d'Aosta was stationed in Savoy with 15,000 men to watch Kellerman. In the space of five days Buonaparte, with the aid of Berthier and Massena, gained three victories; Mondovi and other towns were reduced by his active troops; and the King of Sardinia was so discouraged that, to procure a cessation of hostilities, he delivered up some of his principal fortresses to the victorious army. A peace was soon concluded between him and the French, to whom he ceded the duchy of Savoy and county of Nice for ever. Advancing to Lodi, on the 10th of May, the French encountered General Beaulieu; but they were opposed by such strenuous efforts, and so tremendous a fire, that victory seemed to promise itself to the Austrian battalions. At length, however, after a most sanguinary conflict, the bridge was forced, and the republican army bore down all before it. The success of this action, commenced in opposition to all the rules of tactics, by no means

justified the attempt. When the first column had advanced half way across the bridge, a single discharge of the Austrian artillery mowed down 700 men; and the darkness in which the smoke enveloped the French alone enabled them to gain the opposite extremity. It is the undoubted duty of a commander to expose his troops to the least possible danger; and the necessity of crossing the Adda at Lodi, when it might have been effected at some other point, does not appear sufficiently imperative to rescue Buonaparte from the imputation of having wantonly sacrificed the lives of his men. By this victory he gained possession of the greater part of the Milanese; and, after having quelled an insurrection of the new subjects of France at Pavia, he entered the ecclesiastical states, and took possession of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Alarmed in the highest degree at the advance of an enemy, now become formidable to all Italy, both the Pope and the King of Naples sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian Majesty on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army; but the Pope was obliged not merely to cede to the French the towns already in their possession, but to add to their number the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic, together with a contribution of 21,000,000 francs by instalments, and a present of 100 pictures, statues, busts, and vases, to be selected, by competent judges of the arts, from the galleries at Rome, to adorn the museums of France. Similar terms were also exacted from the Dukes of Parma and Modena. On the 28th of June a detachment of French troops took possession of Leghorn, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English, the whole of whose property found in that city was confiscated to the use of the republic: the factory, however, had removed the greater part of their

effects to the Isle of Elba. The Austrians being pursued by the French into the Venetian territory, the senate, whose policy it had always been to pay the greatest deference to power, after manifesting a partiality to the cause of the allies, found it necessary to bend before the genius of the Gallic democracy, and the Count de Provence (Louis the Eighteenth), who had taken refuge in their territory, was desired to withdraw therefrom.

General Beaulieu, incompetent to withstand the enemy, resigned the command of his army, which was conferred on Field-marshal Wurmser, a warrior who, in his eightieth year, combined all the energy and ardour of youth with the experience of age. Having collected the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthened them with large reinforcements, he crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and obliged the French to raise the siege of Mantua. On the 5th of August the two armies came in conflict, and the battle was continued for several successive days; but victory at length declared in favour of the French general, and Wurmser was obliged to take refuge in Mantua. The emperor immediately assembled another army, at the head of which was placed Alvinzi, a member of the Aulic Council, who commenced his operations with some success at the head of 50,000 men, expecting to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrol, and raise the blockade of Mantua; but his progress was intercepted by Buonaparte, who, crossing the Adige on the 14th of November, advanced to the village of Arcole, a position equally strengthened by nature and art; and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, which lasted three days, was at length successful, through the stratagem before practised, of taking the enemy in the rear. In the mean time the left wing of the French army had been forced by General Davidowich, who

advanced within eight leagues of Mantua; but Buonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered General Massena to repass the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Arisio, on the 22d of November, while Alvinzi took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing 6000 men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards. Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history.

On the Rhine the command of the French armies was conferred on Jourdan and Moreau. Three battles won successively at Renchen, Rastadt, and Etlingen, not only enabled the invaders to gain possession of the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Mannheim, Phillipsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The engagement at Etlingen, where the Archduke Charles, brother of the emperor, a gallant and popular prince, now at the head of the Austrian army, contended against Moreau in person, was long and obstinate; and, when at length the Austrians were forced to retire, it was rather before the enthusiasm than the superior skill of their adversaries. In his victorious career Moreau forced the Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden, to sue for peace; while Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingoldstadt, and Amberg, menaced Austria on his right, as well as Bohemia in his front. The retreat of the imperial forces in Germany was contemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Buonaparte in Italy; but their strength, though overpowered, was not broken. The Archduke Charles, having received considerable supplies, determined to throw himself between the invaders and Ratisbon; but before his arrival the army of Wartensleben had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights be-

fore Amberg. On the 22d of August the archduke arrived in person, and, after defeating the enemy under Bernadotte, drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan, finding his left wing and rear thus exposed to a superior force, was driven as far as Wurtzburg, where they were again overtaken, and, being once more defeated, they were seized with a panic, and immediately disbanded.

The conquests of Moreau were now become useless, in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat, which he executed with great skill and extraordinary judgment. Having completely deceived the Austrians relative to the route he intended to take, he crossed the Lech, on the 11th of September, and retired in an orderly manner, defeating all the Austrian corps which attempted to oppose him. Having at length forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through a defile called the Valley of Hell, the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, Moreau, at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march through a hostile country of more than 300 miles in extent, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, passed the Rhine at Huningen without molestation, and returned to Strasburg, the point whence he set out, on the 26th of October, leaving a strong garrison in Kehl, which, after a brave resistance, surrendered to the archduke.

In La Vendée, the domestic disturbances which had so long impeded the foreign exertions of the new republic were early this year entirely overcome. Stofflet, the insurgent leader, who in the course of two years had defeated his opponents in more than a hundred actions, was surprised and

taken by two republican officers in the village of Langreniere, and executed at Angers on the 23d of February. The Vendéans and Chouans still, however, remaining attached to the cause of royalty, Charette continued to embrace every opportunity of annoyance, until, at length, being totally defeated, and his followers completely dispersed, after wandering some time in the disguise of a peasant, he was discovered and taken, and, on the 28th of April, executed at Nantes. On the fall of these chiefs, all the insurgent departments readily submitted; and Hoche, who at Quiberon had acquired some distinction as a warrior, was empowered by the Directory to adopt lenient methods for bringing over the remaining malcontents, and hailed as the pacificator of La Vendée.

The conquests of the French in Europe did not prevent the English from persevering in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter unknown in any former period of the war. The mortality which had occurred among our troops in the West Indies, and the alarming accounts that were received of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hugues, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. A naval force, with several regiments on board, was therefore prepared to act against the West Indian colonies of Holland; and, very early in the year, Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, surrendered to the British commanders. A debarkation was next effected on St. Lucia; and the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strongest positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Morne Fortuné was next invested and taken; 2000 French soldiers were made prisoners,

the insurgent negroes disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under General Knox, to St. Vincent's, undertaken on the 25th of May, was no less successful, where the French surrendered to the number of 700: the dispersion of the Caribbs immediately followed, and peace was soon after restored to the settlement. An attack was afterwards made on Grenada, which succeeded, with little bloodshed. A body of 7000 troops arrived early in the spring at the Mole in St. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Toussaint, with his negro army, and Regaud at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory, warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a coast 300 miles in extent.

The Dutch government, determined not to suffer the loss of the Cape of Good Hope without a struggle to regain so important a settlement, fitted out an expedition, consisting of two sail of the line, three smaller ships of war, and three armed vessels, which anchored on the 2d of August in the Bay of Saldanha. Just at the critical moment when General Craig, with his small army, was marching down to the coast to meet the invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty-gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-admiral Engelbartus Lucas, knowing that resistance must be unavailing, obeyed the summons, and on the 17th of August he surrendered his whole fleet without firing a gun.

The progress of the republican arms on the Continent of Europe, the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of Corsica, and the arrival of a body of French under General Cazette, to co-operate with internal revolt, rendered the possession of that island no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders captured the city: Fiorenzo, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were retaken on the 20th of October, and considerable spoils fell into the hands of the victors on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and on the final evacuation of the island. The island of Elba, however, which had been seized some months before, was still retained, and formed an useful arsenal and a convenient station.

The French government, perceiving a crisis in the situation of Ireland more favourable to the success of an invasion than any other which had occurred since the French revolution, attempted to strike a blow of no common importance. On the 20th of December, 15,000 chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest, intended to act, on their arrival, with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organized for insurrection. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse sailed from Brest with eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates and transports: the wind at first was favourable, but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour, when a storm arose which dispersed the fleet, and, separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after being chased by two British vessels. Of the whole fleet only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under Admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry Bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather, and obliged to return to France without effecting a landing. In this expedition the

French lost three ships of the line and three frigates, from the adverse elements; but they had the singular good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys, the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after the departure of the enemy.

During the course of this year the remaining commerce of France was harassed and diminished by the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers, and upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy were captured, among which were five ships of the line and twelve frigates. Such was the determined courage of British seamen at this period, that scarcely any inferiority of force could deter them from a contest at sea; and even in port the enemy's vessels were frequently boarded and cut out, under the incessant fire of the batteries, and discharges of musketry. One of the most gallant actions during the war was fought by Captain Trollope, in the *Glatton*, of fifty-four guns, on the 16th of July, with six French frigates, which he beat off, though surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern. On the other hand, the French made a successful expedition to Newfoundland, where shipping and merchandise to a large amount were captured or destroyed in August, by a squadron under Admiral Richery, who returned to France without the loss of a single vessel.

Scarcely had the new government of France, under the Directory, commenced its operations, when a difference arose between that country and America, originating in the treaty of amity and commerce recently executed between Great Britain and the United States. This treaty was said to discover a disposition altogether inimical to France, and its provisions to be wholly incompatible with the idea of neutrality. By the treaty of 1778, still in force,

the United States guaranteed to France the possession of their West India colonies; but by the treaty of 1795 they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to those islands from America should be treated as illegal commerce. The Directory, regarding the Americans in the light of secret enemies, made such depredations on their trade, under various pretences, as almost amounted to a commercial war; and an arret was issued on the 3d of July, enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from the English. Thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral nations were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of the war, under the designation of Berlin and Milan decrees, and British Orders in Council. Towards the close of the summer, Mr. Monroe, the American ambassador at Paris, was recalled from his embassy, to the great dissatisfaction of the French government, who refused to receive his successor, Mr. Pinkney, in the same capacity; and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified to the American government, on the 23d of November, that the Directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. Such was the situation of the foreign relations of the United States, when General Washington resigned his government, and again retired to his paternal estate on the banks of the Potowmac.

When French influence, aided by the fears of the Spanish monarch, had produced a peace between those nations, there was reason to apprehend that the artful republicans would lead that passive prince into a close alliance, and endeavour to render his arms subservient to the views of France; but the Spaniards were not very eager to commence hostilities against their late allies: a treaty of confederacy, however, was at length concluded, and on

the 5th of October his Catholic Majesty declared war against Great Britain, on frivolous and absurd pretences. In Holland, a national convention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces met at the Hague on the 1st of March, and formed a constitution on the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government was to declare war against England.

Public tranquillity was preserved at Paris with some difficulty, and many of the provinces of France exhibited, at this period, scenes of dreadful disorder. The Jacobins, who had hitherto filled the principal places under government, enraged at witnessing the return of moderate principles, manifested their hostility by exercising their power, where they still remained in office, in the most cruel and oppressive manner; and insurrections in various parts of the country took place, but they were all quickly suppressed. The Directory next determined to submit to the operation of the law the sanguinary perpetrators of the massacres of September, 1792; and, of a great number brought to trial, some were executed, and others imprisoned, but a large majority were acquitted. The Directory then turned their attention to the subject of finance, the rapid decline of the credit of the assignats having rendered that species of paper altogether useless; and as gold and silver had disappeared, it was judged expedient to employ some other means to replace the debased currency. A law was accordingly passed to sell the remainder of the national domains, for which the nation was to receive, in payment, a new paper fabrication, under the name of mandats, to be issued to the amount of 400,000,000 of livres; but in a very few months they sunk so low as one-fifth of the price affixed by the national treasury. In the midst of these difficulties, the Committee of Finance presented a report, containing a general statement

of the public revenue, from which it appeared that the expenditure during the last year amounted to 1,000,000,000 livres, and that the ordinary annual revenue was barely 500,000,000. To make up this enormous deficiency, various resources were pointed out; but the principal expedient was to be found in the sale of the church lands in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands.

Various had been the plans of annoyance against this country projected by the French government; but all had hitherto been delayed or set aside, as inadequate and impracticable, till it was suggested that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage was to attack her commerce, by shutting out her manufactures from every port in Europe subject to French control, or under French influence. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much despatch as the jarring interests of the continental powers would allow, and British manufactures soon found no legal entrance into any port on the Continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic, with the exception only of the ports of the Hans Towns, of Portugal, and of Russia.

Towards the close of the year the confederacy against France lost another of its members, in the person of Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, who died on the evening of the 6th of November. This extraordinary woman terminated a life of sixty-seven years, and a reign of thirty-four, in a fit of apoplexy. Her reign will always rank among the most splendid periods of Russian history: but its most glorious actions were blended with injustice and stained by cruelty; and in the accomplishment of her ends she never hesitated with respect to means. She was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Paul, who, having the most despotic notions of kingly right, considered the Bourbon family as iniquitously ejected from a possession which they

derived from heaven. About the same time also died Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, at an advanced age, and his son, the Prince of Piedmont, succeeded to his precarious throne.

Although the war was still prosecuted between Great Britain and France with undiminished energy, the governors of both countries found it necessary to remove the impression that the contest was as interminable in its duration as it was indefinite in its objects; and with this view his Majesty, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the new Parliament, on the 6th of October, 1796, declared that he had omitted no endeavours for restoring peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negotiation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed. For this purpose his Majesty said he would immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it was his anxious wish that the negotiation might lead to the restoration of general peace. But it was evident that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to the negotiation as a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, an enemy who had openly professed a design to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms. On the propriety of entering upon a negotiation with republican France, some difference of opinion existed between ministers and their supporters; and the friends of Mr. Burke adhered to that great statesman's original opinion, that the restoration of monarchy and the ancient orders, under certain modifications, ought to be the sole and avowed purpose of the war; that no peace could be secure until that object was effected; and that we must either conquer the revolution, or the revolution

would conquer us. These sentiments were particularly adopted by Earl Fitzwilliam; and, after opposing the address on the King's speech, he entered on the journals of the House of Lords a very elaborate protest, assigning ten distinct reasons for refusing to concur in an address of approbation on his Majesty's speech, announcing the opening of a negotiation for peace with the French republic.

The English cabinet had, in the month of March, commissioned Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador to the Helvetic States, to apply to M. Barthelemi, who was then engaged in diplomatic agencies at Basle, to inquire if the government of France were disposed to enter into a negotiation with his Majesty and his allies. M. Barthelemi was instructed to answer, that the executive government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honourable, and solid peace; but an indispensable condition of any treaty entered into for that purpose was the retention of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic. This reply, expressing a decided resolution not to surrender the Austrian Netherlands to the Emperor of Germany, displayed, in the opinion of the British ministry, a temper so remote from any disposition for peace, that the correspondence between the two ministers ceased, and both parties proceeded to open the campaign. On the 6th of September Lord Grenville addressed a note to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador in London, requesting that he would transmit, through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration expressive of his Britannic Majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honourable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his Majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss, with the government there, all the measures most proper to

produce so desirable an end. The Directory replied, that the executive government would not notice any overture from the enemies of the French republic transmitted through an intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers, they might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris. Passports were accordingly obtained; and Sir James Harris, who had been lately called to the peerage, under the title of Lord Malmsbury, being nominated plenipotentiary to the French republic, repaired to Paris on the 22d of October. Two days after his arrival the negotiations were opened by a memorial from his lordship, stating that, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, Great Britain found herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France; from which, on the contrary, she had taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable; but she was willing to restore her own conquests in lieu of the acquisitions which France had won from her allies, as a basis for a treaty, and therefore proposed a general principle of reciprocal restitution. The Executive Directory replied, that, considering the British ambassador to be the agent of Great Britain only, they could not now enter into the concerns of the other states, which could tend only to multiply the combinations and increase the difficulties of the negotiation; but that, as soon as he should procure sufficient powers from those allies, they would hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which should be submitted to them. To these observations they thought proper to add an opinion, that the British government was insincere in its overture; that its object was to prevent, by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England

the means of continuing the war, by throwing the odium of a refusal to negotiate a peace upon the republic. The British minister, disdaining to reply to these insinuations, stated that he had not been commissioned to enter into a separate treaty, but that Great Britain proposed to make common cause with her allies. The Directory rejoined, that, in a question of reciprocal restitution, the chief object of consideration was the relative condition of the respective parties; that, of the original confederates, some were become the friends of France, and others observed a strict neutrality; that the remaining allies of Great Britain were weakened by their losses, and the desertion of their associates; and that France could not, in a negotiation for terms, forget the circumstances in which she was placed. Having thus admitted the principle of compensation, M. de la Croix, the French negotiator, in a note to Lord Malmsbury, dated the 27th of November, again requested him to point out expressly, and without delay, the objects of reciprocal compensations which he had to propose. His lordship was now obliged to consult his court, and the negotiation was suspended till the 17th of December, on which day his lordship submitted, in two formal and confidential memorials, that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the Emperor of Germany, or in Italy, and that Great Britain should render back all her acquisitions gained from France in the East and West Indies; that Russia and Portugal should be included in the treaty; that no obstacle would be interposed, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, against Spain becoming a party to the negotiation; and that in case Holland was reinstated, in all respects, in the same political situation in which she stood before the war, the colonial possessions captured by Great Britain might be restored, and the *status ante*

bellum, with respect to territorial possessions, re-established in her favour; but if, on the contrary, Holland should remain a republic, their Britannic and Imperial Majesties would be obliged to seek, in territorial acquisitions, those compensations, and that security, which such a state of things would render indispensable. At the time that these memorials were delivered, a long and animated conversation took place between the negotiators, in the course of which the French minister inquired, whether, in placing the memorials before the Directory, he was to state the disuniting of Belgium from France as a *sine qua non*, from which his Majesty would not depart. Lord Malmsbury replied that it most certainly was, and that any proposal which would have the Netherlands annexed to France would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and less to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect. In the course of conversation, M. de la Croix repeatedly said, that this difficulty was one which could not be overcome; and, two days after, Lord Malmsbury received a letter, requiring him to deliver, within twenty-four hours, his ultimatum, signed by himself. His lordship replied, that to demand an ultimatum, in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers had communicated to each other their respective pretensions, was to shut the door against all negotiation; but he repeated that he was ready to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any *contre projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the Executive Directory. The Directory rejoined, in a note of the 19th of December, that they would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties, which bound the republic; and as Lord Malmsbury announced, at every communication, that he was in

want of the opinion of his court (from which it resulted that he acted a part merely passive in the negotiation), his presence at Paris was rendered useless, and he was required to depart therefrom within two days, with all the persons who had accompanied and followed him; and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic; but that, if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the Executive Directory was ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers. Lord Malmsbury replied that he was preparing to quit Paris on the morrow, and demanded the necessary passports for himself and suite: on the 20th he quitted the French capital, and repaired to England.

Thus terminated the first negotiation for peace between Great Britain and the republic of France. The British ministry, considering its abrupt conclusion as arising totally from France, published a manifesto, on the 27th of December, enlarging upon the pacific dispositions of the British government, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the enemy.

This manifesto being laid before Parliament, Mr. Pitt, after a brilliant exordium, in which he lamented the failure of the attempt to restore the relations of peace, proceeded to take a review of the circumstances that preceded and attended the late negotiations, and insisted that their rupture was wholly imputable to the government of France. The enemy demanded, not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to pass a constitutional decree, declaring that these should not be alienated from the republic. But this perverse and monstrous claim, in virtue of which ter-

ritories acquired by force of arms were annexed to a state during the continuance of the war in which such acquisitions were made, could never be supposed to supersede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the several nations in Europe. Yet this had been the pretension to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the King of Great Britain and his allies : and, not content with setting up this claim to abrogate treaties previously concluded, they had offered a studied insult to his Majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing that the negotiation should be carried on by means of couriers. “ The question, then,” said Mr. Pitt, “ is not how much will you give for peace ; but how much disgrace will you suffer at the outset ? how much degradation will you submit to as a preliminary ? In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name, and of the British character ? or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to yield to what they may require, and to submit to whatever they may impose ? I hope there is not a hand in his Majesty’s councils which would sign the proposal ; that there is not a heart in this House that would sanction the measure ; and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier.” Mr. Fox, in reply, maintained that the whole amount of the minister’s splendid oration was, to admit that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented in expense, both in men and in money, and that we had done nothing ; that, in fact, the enemy, instead of being humbled and ruined, as had been so often and so confidently foretold, had now become more unreasonable and dictatorial in their

pretensions than ever. Mr. Fox concluded his speech by proposing an address to the throne, recommending that his Majesty's faithful Commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of his ministers, who had involved this nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negotiations. This amendment was negatived by 212 against 36; and a similar fate awaited a similar motion made by the Earl of Oxford in the House of Lords.

On the 18th of October the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration that part of his Majesty's speech which alluded to the preparations making by the enemy to invade these kingdoms. In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the premier declared to be more formidable than had ever existed at any former period of our history, he proposed, first, a levy of 15,000 men from the different parishes for the sea service, and for recruiting the regular regiments of the line: his second proposal was to raise a supplementary militia, to consist of 60,000 men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and completely trained, so as to be ready in a moment of danger; and his third military project was to raise a force of 20,000 irregular cavalry. These propositions were passed into laws early in the session; but the plan for raising the irregular cavalry force being found difficult of application, the measure was superseded, in a great degree, by the numerous volunteer corps of yeomanry cavalry which pressed forward in the service of their country. During this session, also, a bill was introduced, by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia force in Scotland, which was much resisted in that part of the kingdom. On the 21st of October, 195,000 men were voted for the

land service for the year 1797, and, soon afterwards, 120,000 seamen and marines for the navy.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual financial statement on the 7th of December, from which it appeared that 18,000,000*l.* would be wanted by way of loan, exclusive of 5,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills, and about 13,500,000*l.* of victualing, transport, and navy bills, which he proposed to fund. This loan was followed by a second during the same session of Parliament, amounting also to 18,000,000*l.*, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and including a vote of credit for 3,000,000*l.* to be remitted to the Emperor of Germany. The terms of the loan were highly advantageous to the moneyed interest, for every 100*l.* so raised 175*l.* 3 *per cent.* and 20*l.* 4 *per cent.* stock being granted by government, with a long annuity of 6*s.* 6*d.*: and the bills, though at a very considerable discount in the market, were funded at par. To defray the interest on these loans, permanent taxes were imposed to the amount of 3,416,000*l.* and the pressure of the war was now severely felt by many classes. Mr. Pitt having admitted, on moving the vote of credit, that 1,200,000*l.* had been advanced to the emperor without the previous consent of Parliament, Mr. Fox observed, that if the measure was not reprobated, he should think that man a hypocrite who pretended to see any distinction between this government and an absolute monarchy; and the majority in favour of ministers, on the motion for a vote of censure, was smaller than usual.

Scarcely at any period had the aspect of public affairs, in this country, assumed a more gloomy and dispirited complexion than at the commencement of the year 1797. The rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm among

many of the proprietors of the public funds, and, under this impression, sums to a great amount were sold out of the stocks, and vested in other securities. The Bank had, in the course of the war, advanced immense sums to the government, far beyond its usual aid to the public treasury; and as a considerable part of these advantages consisted of remittances to foreign powers, especially to the Emperor of Germany, made in coin, the gold and silver in the Bank were greatly diminished. The consequences of this had been long foreseen by the directors, and, as early as the year 1795, they had expressed to Mr. Pitt their expectations that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them. This remonstrance they repeated on the 8th of October in the same year, and again in 1796, but they still continued to afford accommodation to the treasury. In the beginning of 1797 the minister requested still further advances, and intimated, at the same time, that a loan amounting to the sum of 1,500,000*l.* beyond the accommodation to the English treasury would be wanted for Ireland. On the 9th of February the governor of the Bank informed Mr. Pitt that, under the present state of their accommodation to government here, to agree with his request of making a further advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the Bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors. Another cause powerfully co-operated to produce an alarming derangement in the affairs of the national Bank. The dread of invasion had induced the capitalists, as well as the more opulent farmers and traders, at a distance from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of the country bankers, with whom they had been accustomed to deposit it; and the run upon the provincial banking-houses

soon extended to the capital. On the 20th of February an unusual demand was made by the holders of notes upon the Bank of England for specie; and this run, which increased on the 21st, became so rapid and urgent on the four following days as to excite the most serious alarm, and to oblige the directors to submit their situation to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 26th government found it necessary to interfere; and on that day an order of the Privy Council was issued, prohibiting the directors of the Bank from issuing any cash in payment till the sense of Parliament should be taken. The consideration of this important subject was brought, with as little delay as possible, before the two Houses of Parliament, and the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees to ascertain the assets of the Bank. The public apprehension was materially allayed by their reports, delivered early in March, from which it appeared that, on the 15th of February, the last day of paying gold and silver at the Bank, the amount of the demands upon the company was 13,770,390*l.*; that their assets, exclusive of the permanent debt due from government, amounted to the sum of 17,597,280*l.*, so that there remained a surplus of 3,826,890*l.*; to which must be added the sum of 11,666,800*l.* three *per cent.* stock, lent at different times to government on parliamentary security, which being estimated at fifty *per cent.* agreeably to the actual price at that time of the three *per cent.* consols, the whole of the capital vested in the corporation of the Bank, after the payment of all demands, amounted to the enormous sum of 9,660,290*l.* On these reports Mr. Pitt grounded a bill, enabling the Bank to issue notes in payment of demands upon them instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council to that effect; and a clause of the utmost importance

was introduced into the act, for preventing any person from being held to bail who offered Bank of England notes in discharge of a debt; though this law, by leaving the creditor the option of demanding cash in payment instead of notes, did not actually constitute them a legal tender. From this time the circulation of gold coin in a great measure ceased; and notes, from 20s. and upwards, became the general medium of circulation.

Animated debates took place in Parliament respecting the affairs of the Bank; and the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grey respectively moved a series of resolutions, condemning the minister's intercourse and concerns with that body, and attributing the embarrassments of the company to his negligence and prodigality; but the proposed votes of censure were rejected by large majorities in both Houses.

Scarcely had the alarm created by the stoppage of cash payments at the Bank began to subside, than a spirit of mutiny and disaffection broke out among the fleet at Spithead. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed respecting the pay and provisions of the sailors; and, in the month of February, several anonymous letters were received by Lord Howe from the fleet, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining an increase of the seamen's pay, and an improvement in the quality and quantity of their provisions; at the same time a correspondence was going on, by letter, between the crews of the different ships, and a committee of delegates was appointed to obtain a redress of grievances. These proceedings were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was not till the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport made a signal to prepare for sea, that they began to be suspected among the superior officers of the fleet. Instead of weighing anchor, as the signal imported, the

seamen of the admiral's ship all ran up the shrouds, and saluted the crews of the adjoining ships with three cheers, which being instantly answered in the same manner, it became manifest that the spirit of disobedience was general. The next step of the delegates was to assemble in council in the cabin of the admiral's ship, and to place the officers in custody to prevent them from going on shore. Here a petition to the admiral was drawn up, and presented on the spot, accompanied with an intimation that, till the prayer of the petition for an increase of wages and a regulation in the ratio of provisions took place, they should not quit their present station "unless the enemy was known to be at sea." On the 18th, a committee of the Admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, repaired to Portsmouth with a view to induce the refractory seamen to resume their duty; and on the 23d the admiral returned to his ship, when, after hoisting his flag, he informed the crew that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, accompanied by his Majesty's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation these offers were cheerfully accepted, and it was now supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed; but when, on the 7th of May, Lord Bridport made the signal to put to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey. This second mutiny arose, it appeared, from a groundless apprehension on the part of the seamen that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A meeting of the delegates was again convened, to be held on board the London; but Vice-admiral Colpoys, having determined to prevent the illegal assembly from being held on board his ship, ordered the marines to fire upon the boats as they approached, and five seamen were killed in the skirmish which ensued. The crew of the London, irritated by this resistance on the part of the admiral, now turned their guns

towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water unless the commander submitted; and Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were both taken into custody by their crew, and confined for several hours in separate cabins. In this state of mutiny the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived from the Admiralty with plenary powers to settle all differences; and as his lordship was the bearer of an act of Parliament which had passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance of pay to the seamen, and also of his Majesty's proclamation of pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy. The public saw with infinite satisfaction the extinction of this dangerous spirit of disaffection; but a new mutiny in another quarter, which for boldness and extent is without a parallel in the naval history of Britain, soon converted their pleasure into alarm and consternation.

Well affected to their country as British seamen generally are, the concessions made to them were unfortunately enforced, not granted, and the same method lay open for obtaining further claims. The North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, imitating the dangerous conduct of the crews at Spithead, but greatly exceeding them in the extent of their demands, chose delegates from every ship, and appointed a seaman of the name of Richard Parker, a bold and enterprising man, as their president. The demands of these mutineers comprehended a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour, a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay, a more equal distribution of prize money, and a general abatement of the rigours of discipline.

On the 23d of May the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the Sandwich, and the red flag,

the symbol of mutiny, hoisted in its stead. To the daily conferences of this mutinous usurpation each man of war sent two delegates, and, besides these, there was a committee of twelve in every ship, who determined not only all affairs relating to the internal management of the vessel, but instructed their delegates, and decided upon their merits. The delegates went on shore daily, and, after holding their meetings, paraded the streets and ramparts with music and flags. The arrival of Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey at Sheerness at length put an end to these audacious processions. The mutiny had then risen to the most alarming height, and it was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature would be granted. Some of the most desperate of their number suggested the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, alleging that a redress of grievances, as it was their primary, so it should be their ultimate object. For the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a passage either up or down the river to the London trade; and, to supply their present wants, they took from a vessel three hundred sacks of flour, which they distributed throughout the fleet.

On the 4th of June the whole fleet at the Nore celebrated his Majesty's birth-day by a royal salute; and on the 6th they were joined by four men of war and a sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth Roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping under the command of a set of common sailors, in a state of insubordination, formed a singular and awful spectacle. Govern-

ment, in the mean time, were not inattentive to the obligations imposed upon them by the perilous situation of the country, and a proclamation was issued, offering his Majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of Parliament, the former for more effectually restraining the intercourse from the shore with the ships in a state of mutiny, and the latter for punishing with the utmost severity of the law any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices; but the master-stroke of policy was to be found in the removal of all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames, and the neighbouring coast, by which any large ship that should attempt to sail away would be exposed to the most imminent danger of running aground; while furnaces and red-hot balls were kept in readiness at Sheerness, to repel any attack that might be made on that place by the mutineers. The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through the Earl of Northesk, who commanded the Monmouth, to whom the delegates communicated the terms on which alone they would give up the ships, and requested that he would submit them to the King, and return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours; intimating that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. These terms, which were submitted the next day to the King in council, were rejected, and the intelligence of their refusal was communicated by Captain Knight, of the Inflexible. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations were making to enforce obedience to the laws, from the works at Sheerness; but the defection of several of the ships, on the 9th, with other symptoms of disunion amongst the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary: on the 10th several of

the mutinous ships, being reduced to great exigencies for want of fresh provisions and water, struck the red flag: on the 12th all but seven of the ships hoisted the union flag, to signify their wish to return to obedience; and, on the following morning, five out of the seven remaining vessels ran away from the mutinous ships, and sought protection under the guns of the fort of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain, and, after a fruitless attempt to obtain a general pardon, the crew of the Sandwich steered that ship on the following morning into Sheerness, where Parker was arrested by a picquet guard of soldiers, with a person of the name of Davies, who had acted as captain under him, and about thirty other delegates, all of whom were committed to the black hole in the garrison. One of the delegates, of the name of Wallace, more desperate than the rest, being determined neither to outlive his power nor to submit to the ignominy of a public execution, shot himself dead on the appearance of the soldiers. Thus all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased, and the public mind recovered its former composure, by the entire extinction of this alarming revolt.

The trial of Parker commenced on the 22d of June, before a court martial, of which Sir T. Pasley was president. The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny, committed on board his Majesty's fleet at the Nore; of disobedience of orders; and of contempt of the authority of his officers. The facts being clearly established, the court adjudged him to death: on which, with astonishing composure, he addressed them as follows: "I bow to your sentence with all due submission, being convinced I have acted under the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that those

brave men who have acted with me will receive a general pardon: I am satisfied they will all then return to their duty with alacrity." He was executed on board the *Sandwich*, and met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and several of the ring-leaders were executed; but a pardon was granted to the far greater number of those who were condemned. The French, whose revolutionary principles had certainly some weight in producing these commotions, exulted at the intelligence of the mutiny, and, while they lamented its extinction, conceived hopes of the eruption of future discontent in the same branch of the service, or in the military department; but the true-hearted seamen resumed their habits of order and submission, and the soldiers, who also received an augmentation of pay, preserved their loyalty unimpaired.

Ever since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland the discontents of that country had continued to increase, and several parishes, baronies, and even counties, were declared to be out of the King's peace. The Earl of Moira, on the 21st of March, moved in the House of Lords for an address to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remove the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the most serious alarm for that country, and for the dearest interests of Britain. Lord Grenville, in reply, insisted that the present motion could not be adopted, without tearing asunder every bond of union, and breaking the solemn contract subsisting between the two countries. Instead of remedying discontents, the motion now submitted to the House would increase them, and induce the Irish to imagine that their own legislature was regardless of their welfare. The motion was ultimately negatived by a majority of 70 to 20 voices;

and a similar one, made two days afterwards in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox, was also lost.

The inhabitants of Westminster, and of several other cities and populous districts, assembled in the spring of the present year, and numerous petitions were voted at these meetings, praying for the removal of ministers. Encouraged by these proceedings, which, however, were by no means general, the Earl of Suffolk moved, in the House of Lords, on the 27th of March, that an address might be presented to his Majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils the first Lord of the Treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country. This motion was followed, on the 19th of May, by another in the Commons, moved by Mr. Alderman Combe, for an address to the King, beseeching him to dismiss his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace. In favour of these addresses, it was urged that ministers had plunged the country into an unnecessary war, which had added 130,000.000*l.* to the national debt, and had imposed taxes to the amount of 6,500,000*l.* annually; that, instead of restoring monarchy in France, they had been compelled to recognise the republic; that, instead of weakening the powers or dismembering the territories of the enemy, they had suffered them to add the Netherlands, Holland, and a great part of Italy, to the republic; that they had neglected the proper opportunities of making peace, and that their negotiations for that desirable object had been conducted with insincerity; that to their profusion were imputable all the embarrassments that had so lately distressed the national Bank, and to their folly and misconduct all the insubordination that had shown itself in the navy, the discontents that prevailed among the people of England, and the spirit of rebellion which had begun to manifest

itself in Ireland; that their boast of having preserved their country from Jacobinical principles was supposititious, but that the evils they had brought upon the country were real, and would be permanent as the government itself. It was contended, on the other hand, that the country owed to ministers the three greatest blessings a country could possess—liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity; that under their administration juries had been invested with the power of judging of the point of law, as well as the matter of fact; that when Mr. Pitt came into office the funds were at 64, but, by his financial abilities, they had been raised, before the war broke out, to 98; that even during the war, into which it was impossible for ministers to avoid entering, our trade, manufactures, and agriculture, had continued to flourish; that though the success of our allies had not equalled our expectations, yet our own success, as well as our exertions, had been unparalleled. The motion for the address was negatived, in the Peers, by 86 to 16; and in the Commons by 242 to 59.

On the 26th of May Mr. Grey made his final motion relative to a reform in Parliament, which was lost by a majority of 258 to 63 voices, and no other business worthy of historical note occurred till the 20th of July, when Parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty intimated that he was again engaged in a negotiation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions.

Previously to entering on the progress of affairs on the Continent of Europe, it will be proper to detail the naval operations of 1797, the activity and general success of which fully prove that, however a spirit of insubordination may affect them for a

time, British seamen can ever be relied upon when opposed to the enemies of their country. The French republic, having at her disposal the navy of Spain as well as that of Holland, proposed to her confederates that the greatest part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year to Brest, where, being joined by the French ships of war in that port, they should afterwards form a junction with the Dutch fleet; and that this armada, then swelled to upwards of seventy sail of the line, should bear down upon England, and, having humbled the lofty pretensions of her naval power, should lay the foundation for her future subjugation. This design soon became known to the British ministry, and, to frustrate its execution, a fleet under Sir John Jervis was appointed to blockade the port of Cadiz, while Admiral Duncan was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch the movements of the Dutch fleet in the Texel. Sir John Jervis having received intelligence on the 13th of February, from Captain Foote, of the *Niger*, stationed off Carthagen, that the fleet under Admiral Don Joseph de Cordova was at sea, immediately set sail in quest of it. At the dawn of the succeeding day the enemy was descried off Cape St. Vincent, but, as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock that a signal from a British frigate announced the enemy's fleet to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line. The British commander, though his squadron comprised no more than fifteen ships, resolved to bring them to action, and at half past eleven o'clock formed in the most complete order of sailing in two lines. By carrying a press of sail the British came down upon the enemy before they had time to form in order of battle; and, notwithstanding their immense superiority, the admiral ordered the fleet to bear directly through them, which was gallantly performed. They then

tacked, and, by this bold and skilful manœuvre, separated about one-third of the Spanish ships from the main body, which, by a partial cannonade, were prevented from a rejunction, and obliged to fall to leeward. By the great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to come up with the main body of the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ships of the line were captured by the British, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening. This brilliant victory ranks among those which have most conspicuously illustrated the superior skill and courage of British seamen, and much to the credit of the commander-in-chief, to whom the *Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns, struck. Only a few English ships were engaged in the contest. Commodore Nelson, in the *Captain*, of 74 guns, distinguished himself greatly, by boarding the *San Nicolas* and *San Josef* in succession, in which he only lost one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines; and, although the slain and wounded in the Spanish ships could not be less than 1200, more than half that number being diminished in the crews of the captured ships only, the loss of the British did not exceed 300. Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation on the intelligence of this well-timed victory; the fleet was honoured with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; the King conferred the title of Earl St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year on the admiral-in-chief; Vice-admiral Thompson, and Rear-admiral Parker, were created baronets; Commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; Captain R. Calder was knighted; and gold medals and chains were presented to all the commanders.

Having determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, the French Directory gave orders to embark a body of troops on board the Dutch fleet in the *Texel*. On the first intelligence of these prepara-

tions, which took place early in the year, a powerful squadron was sent to the North Sea, under the command of Admiral Duncan, to intercept the enemy. It was not, however, till the month of October, and not till the British admiral had returned to Yarmouth to refit, that the Dutch fleet put to sea, on which the English commander, who had received the most early and accurate information of the enemy's movements, suddenly returned to his station. The command of the enemy's fleet, which was somewhat inferior in weight of metal to that of the British, was confided to Admiral De Winter, who had distinguished himself in the army under General Pichegru; and, on his receiving orders to risk an engagement, the troops were disembarked, from which it is more than probable that his destination was to have joined the French fleet in Brest, and to have taken in troops there. No sooner had De Winter quitted the Texel than Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron of observation at the mouth of that river, gave notice of his approach; and, on the 11th of October, Admiral Duncan gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch ships were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. Admiral Duncan, whose fleet consisted of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, finding there was no time to be lost, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which the British squadron placed itself between the enemy and the land, whither they were fast approaching. The admiral's signal being obeyed with promptitude, Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example; and the action commenced about forty

minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and a close action was begun on their van, which lasted nearly two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board: she was, however, defended for some time longer in a most gallant manner; but, being overpowered by numbers, her colours were at length struck, and Admiral De Winter was brought on board the Venerable: soon after, the ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and surrendered to Vice-admiral Onslow; and these, with three of 68 guns, two of 64, two of 56, and two frigates, were taken possession of by the English. In the early part of the action, Rear-admiral Story, who commanded the centre division of the Dutch fleet, fled for the Texel in the States-General, of 74 guns, with part of his division, and afterwards made a merit of having saved part of the fleet. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of the ships lost a great number of men, but in no proportion to that of the enemy: the carnage on board the two ships that bore the admirals' flags was beyond all description, and did not amount to less than 250 men killed and wounded on board each ship. The total loss of the British was 191 killed, and 560 wounded, while the loss of the enemy must have been more than double. When the battle ended the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence thousands of Dutch spectators witnessed the destruction of their navy, every manœuvre being distinctly seen. The votes of both Houses of Parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the captains were gratified by medals; the venerable admiral was rewarded by the King with the dignity of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and a pension of 3000*l.* per annum; while Vice-admiral Onslow

was created a baronet, and Captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret.

Cadiz was twice bombarded this year by Rear-admiral Nelson, under the command of Lord St. Vincent, first on the 23d of June, and, secondly, on the 5th of July. By these operations considerable injury was inflicted upon the city, and some mischief was done to the shipping in the harbour, but without materially advancing the objects of the war.

In February the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to an expedition consisting of six sail of the line, and a number of troops fitted out at Port Royal, in Martinico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Harvey. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, who had a squadron of four ships of the line and one frigate lying at anchor in the gulf of Paria, set fire to their ships; and one line-of-battle ship only, escaping the conflagration, fell into the hands of the victors: the governor and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The same commanders made an attempt, in the month of April, on the large and important island of Porto Rico; but, this island being found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, the enterprise totally failed, and was attended with a loss to the assailants of upwards of 200 men.

An attack upon the isle of Teneriffe, by a squadron of seven ships of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Nelson, and a force of 1000 marines, under Captain Troubridge, was still more unfortunate. On the 15th of July the British expedition arrived before the port of Santa Cruz, and, having effected a landing, took possession of the town; but they learnt, when too late, that the force under their command was utterly unequal either to carry the fort of Santa Cruz, or to contend with the military force of the island now assembled to oppose them.

Preparing, therefore, for a retreat, they had the misfortune to find that the violence of the surge on the beach had staved their boats, and reduced them to a mere wreck. In this situation they were summoned by the Spanish commander to surrender, which Captain Troubridge disdainfully rejected; adding that, if he were allowed to re-embark, the squadron before the town would not injure it. To this the captain received a polite answer, stating that, for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood, facilities would be afforded to himself and his followers to return to their ships. The loss of lives in this attempt was equal to that sustained in the battle off Cape St. Vincent: 44 privates were killed, 105 wounded, 97 drowned, and 5 unaccounted for; Captain Richard Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*, and six lieutenants lost their lives; two captains and a lieutenant were wounded, and Rear-admiral Nelson lost an arm.

The French Directory, after conquering so many kings, and making formidable preparations for the invasion of Ireland, menaced also the territory of Britain, by ordering troops to be assembled on the coasts of the Channel, under the designation of the army of England; and, to add some weight to their resolves, they declared that "the conqueror of Italy," Buonaparte, was appointed to its command. In the early part of this year, and before Buonaparte had terminated his career in Italy, a strange attempt was made on the coast of Wales, by an expedition fitted out at the port of Brest. On the 22d of February that part of Devonshire which lies at the mouth of the Bristol Channel was surprised by the appearance of an enemy's force, which, entering the small port of Ilfracombe, scuttled some merchant vessels, and made an unsuccessful effort to destroy all the ships in the harbour. This invading squadron, which consisted of two frigates

and two sloops, next steered its course for the bay of Cardigan, where, on the following day, they disembarked about 1500 criminals, attired as French troops, and provided with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field-pieces. On receiving information of this event, the Welsh peasantry, animated by the gentry of the country, seized their sithes, sickles, and pitchforks, and marched forth to meet the invaders. Lord Cawdor had assembled, in the course of a single day, a local force, consisting of 700 militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry; and the French commander, perceiving his situation to be desperate, after having despatched a letter to his lordship, proposing a capitulation, surrendered himself and his followers prisoners of war on the 26th. To add to the disaster of this extraordinary enterprise, the two frigates which accompanied the expedition were captured on their return to Brest, and the whole proved as unfortnnate in the execution as it was unaccountable in its plan.

Though the maritime views of the French were baffled on every occasion, the success of the continental war afforded them ample compensation. At the commencement of the year, the Austrian General Alvinzi, at the head of 50,000 well-appointed troops, and a formidable train of artillery, formed the determination to raise the blockade of Mantua, and, having attacked and carried the French position, suddenly passed the Brenta, stormed the town of Cortona, and obliged a body of troops under Joubert to fall back upon Rivoli. Buonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, was no sooner apprized of this irruption than he repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made such judicious dispositions that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprised and defeated. The garrison of Mantua, now despairing of succour,

capitulated, after a long and brave resistance, on the 2d of February ; and on the fall of this important fortress, by which the imperial arms were expelled from Italy, Buonaparte published a proclamation to his army, in which he stated that they had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements ; that they had taken from the enemy more than 100,000 prisoners, 500 field-pieces, and 2000 large cannon ; that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign ; while 30,000,000 of livres had been sent to the minister of finance for the increase of the public treasure ; and, after glancing at their achievements against the kings and princes of Italy, he declared it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and requested them to recollect that it was liberty they were about to present to the Hungarians, whose Sovereign had disgraced himself by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

The papal see, which, relying with confidence on the success of the Austrians, had imprudently resumed hostilities against the French, was now menaced with sudden ruin ; for Buonaparte had published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perfidy, he threatened all who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. General Victor immediately entered Imola, and the pontifical army, abandoning the fertile plains of Romagna, took refuge on the summits of the Apennines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber ; the towns of Cesena, Forli, and Ravenna, submitted in succession ; and the whole march of Ancona acknowledged the triumph of the three-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto ; while the votive

offerings of kings, popes, and emperors, became the prey of an unbelieving soldiery. When the French general arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness, apprehensive lest he should march to the capital, at length determined to negotiate. He was consequently obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin; to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure, stipulated in the former convention; and to pay a large sum of money towards the expenses of the war.

It was not without great difficulty that Francis II. was enabled to recruit his army; a great and last effort was, however, made, and a powerful body was collected between the Tagliamento and the Piavè; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river, and the left border of the Arisio, were prepared to oppose their progress. A variety of movements and minor actions having taken place, General Joubert penetrated to the banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians, and, after a long and bloody action, during which he took 4000 prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neumark: a second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon after at Trames, and the French now rushed into the hereditary dominions of the emperor: Massena seized the fort of Chiusa, the bridge of Carasola, and the town of Tarvis, while Bernadotte took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul, the capture of which rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea. Goritz submitted without resistance; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic appertaining to the emperor, followed its example; and, while scaling the Norick Alps, still covered with snow, Buonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants

by proclamations, in which he declared that the French armies were fighting for peace, and that they would not fail to extend protection to the peaceable Tyroleans. On the 26th of March the Austrians were again beaten, and on the 30th the whole of the French army arrived in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia. The greatest consternation now prevailed in Vienna, which was the avowed object of the French arms: on the other hand, though Buonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one-half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was highly critical. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the house of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the valleys, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose patriarchal manners were as yet unchanged. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded;—all operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary to affect the language of moderation. He accordingly, on the 31st of March, addressed a letter to the archduke, making overtures of peace, to which the Austrian commander replied that he was not furnished with any powers to negotiate; he, however, immediately transmitted Buonaparte's letter to Vienna, and in a few days received full powers from the emperor; a suspension of arms took place; and on the 18th of April a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at the castle of Eckenswald, in Styria, which has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio.

On the Rhine, also, the French arms had been eminently successful, when the intelligence of the preliminaries of peace being signed put a stop to their progress. After this treaty, Augereau, at the head of 25,000 men, marched into Venice, and, seizing on the arsenal and forts, demanded the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, who were accused of having instigated their countrymen to an assassination of the French soldiery. In a few days a democratical municipality was installed; the islands in the Adriatic were subdued by the navy which had hitherto protected them; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country. In Genoa, also, the nobles were friendly to the Austrian cause, but the people were desirous of a popular government. Buonaparte, in consequence, soon after the revolution of Venice, established a democratical government in Genoa; but as the nobles had never shown an active hostility, and made no material resistance to the change, they escaped exactions.

On the 17th of October, the definitive treaty between the French republic and the emperor was signed at Campo Formio, near Udina, the principle of compensations being admitted as that by which the stronger powers were to make up their quarrels at the expense of the weaker. By this treaty the emperor renounced all right and title to the Austrian Netherlands; and consented that the French republic should possess in full sovereignty the *ci-devant* Venetian islands of the Levant, *viz.* Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and the other islands dependent thereon, together with their settlements in Albania. The French republic consented that the emperor should possess, in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the

Catara, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries lying between the hereditary states and the Adriatic seas; the emperor acknowledging the Cisalpine republic, founded on the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, as an independent power, which republic composed the *ci-devant* Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, the Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, the Modenese, the principalities of Massa and Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. This treaty, which was concluded with the emperor only as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the empire with the French republic being referred to a congress, to be held at Rastadt, was immediately promulgated, but fourteen secret articles, highly important in their nature, were for a time concealed. By one of these it was agreed, on the part of the emperor, to use his influence that the French republic should, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Nette, above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Mannheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from whence that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch. His Imperial Majesty also agreed to use his good offices to obtain for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse: while, on the other hand, the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria. On the injustice of the contracting parties, in combining to appropriate to themselves the territories of independent states, over which they possessed no other right or power than that which always appertains to the strongest, no censure can be too severe.

Whilst Spain, Italy, and Holland, were held in dependence by France, whose victorious armies compelled Austria, the last continental member of the coalition, to accept of peace, its domestic tranquillity was shaken by frequent storms. Soon after the appointment of the Directory, the two councils coalesced for a time with the terrorists, in order to crush their mutual enemies, the men of moderate principles; but the success of this plan was defeated by the still greater enmity which subsisted between those terrorists who adhered to Robespierre to the last, and those who brought him to the scaffold. After the conspiracy of May, 1796, the directors were more circumspect in their conduct and language; and no difference occurred between them and the councils till the new election, which took place in the spring of 1797, when, notwithstanding all the arts of intrigue which were exerted by the Directory, and all the manœuvres of the Jacobins, nearly the whole of the new deputies were adverse to the present system. At length the time came for one of the directors also to go out by lot; and, by dint of management, it was contrived that the lot should fall upon Letourneur, one of the weakest characters amongst them. He accordingly received a large sum of money, was appointed to the post of ambassador, and Barthelemi was chosen to succeed him in the Directory. From this time there was a majority in the two councils opposed to the Directory, and, during the summer of 1797, a regular warfare was carried on between them, in messages and in speeches. The majority of the nation sided with the councils, and, if their energy had been equal to the goodness of their cause, there could have been little doubt that they would have succeeded in their efforts to give a better constitution to France and peace to Europe: their opponents, however, were better versed in the revo-

lutionary tactics, more conversant with the maxims of the Robespierrean school, and less scrupulous about the means of accomplishing their end. The Directory, too, were masters of the army, and of the whole executive power of the state. Conscious of their majority, the enemies of the Directory made no secret of their designs; but, with a degree of weakness not easily to be accounted for, they lost their time in petty disputes; whereas, if they had either waited quietly till the period of another election, when they might, without difficulty, have secured a majority in the Directory, or had struck some decisive blow before the directors were thoroughly prepared for resistance, their triumph had been certain and complete. Although the Directory had solemnly declared that they could not, on any consideration, infringe any one article of the constitutional code, when called upon to give up a portion of the conquests which they had made, in order to restore peace to Europe, yet, when their object was to crush their personal enemies, they did not scruple at its violation. One article expressly prohibited the army from deliberating on any subject whatever; but on the present occasion, in consequence of applications from the Directory, who had connived at all their plunder and extortion, they loudly declared themselves in their favour. Buonaparte made all the divisions of the army of Italy present petitions, of a threatening nature, against the councils: Moreau and Hoche did the same with their armies on the Rhine, and the latter was pitched upon by the Directory to command a body of troops, which they had ordered to Paris to destroy their enemies in the councils. By another article of the constitution, the approach of troops to within a certain distance from the place at which the Legislative Body held its sittings was expressly forbidden; but this and every other article were

disregarded by the Directory, when they had any favourite object to accomplish. Hoche, however, alarmed at the state in which he found the public mind on his approach to the capital, was induced to decline the commission; and Augereau, who was originally a private soldier in the Neapolitan army, but now a favourite general with Buonaparte, was employed in his stead. Augereau had no sooner taken the command of the troops, than he moved forward, and passed the limit prescribed by the constitution; but his impetuosity outstripped the wishes of the Directory, who were not yet prepared to inflict the meditated blow; and, had the councils acted with firmness and decision, they might still have succeeded: they wasted that time, however, which should have been employed in action, in frivolous discussions; and, while they were engaged in the silly expedient of ascertaining, with precision, whether the troops had really passed the constitutional limit, the hall in which they sat was suddenly surrounded, and most of the chiefs of the party in opposition to the Directory, together with the new director, Barthelemi, were arrested without the smallest resistance or difficulty, and, being placed in carriages, resembling iron cages, previously prepared for the purpose, were sent to Rochfort, where a frigate waited to transport them to the pestilential deserts of Guiana. The remains of the two councils, who no longer constituted a legitimate body of representatives, and who were not competent to perform any one act of legislation, now assembled at the Odeon, and conferred on the Directory, by a formal decision, that absolute power which they had usurped, in breach of the constitution. The immediate consequence of this event was, the triumph of Jacobinism, and the re-establishment of a revolutionary government.

On the 18th of May the Princess Royal of Eng-

land, Charlotte Augusta Matilda, eldest daughter of the Sovereign, was married to Frederic William, hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, on which occasion a portion of 80,000*l.* was voted by Parliament for the royal bride. On the 8th of July, Mr. Burke, whose talents as a political writer and parliamentary orator were of the first order, died at his seat at Beaconsfield, in the 68th year of his age: and on the 10th of November also died, after a reign of eleven years, Frederic William the Second, King of Prussia, in his 54th year. He was succeeded by his son, Frederic William the Third, who, on his accession, adopted such measures of justice and prudence, as inspired confidence in his subjects, and augured a happy reign.

CHAPTER XXII.

Negotiations for peace renewed, and broken off—Meeting of Parliament—Address on the King's speech—On the late negotiation—Finance—Triple assessment—Voluntary contributions—Redemption of the land tax—Plans for national defence—Duel between Pitt and Tierney—Second estimate of supplies—Slave trade—Various motions respecting Ireland—Tender of extended service by the militia—Volunteer corps—Origin and progress of the rebellion in Ireland—Severe contests between the military and insurgents—Suppression of the rebellion—Trials and executions for treason—Lord Cornwallis appointed Viceroy—Act of amnesty—Objects of the rebellion—French land at Killala, and surrender—Naval victory of Sir J. B. Warren—Close of the insurrection in Ireland.

IN the interval between the treaty of Leoben and that of Campo Formio, the British ministry, finding that the coalition against France was effectually dissolved, and that Great Britain was left absolutely alone in her contest with a power which had been acquiring allies in proportion as she had lost them, again declared themselves actuated by a wish for peace. Accordingly, on the 1st of June, an official note from Lord Grenville to M. de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, communicated the desire of the British government to negotiate preliminaries, which might be definitively arranged at a future congress. The French government, pursuing their usual policy of negotiating a separate peace with each of their enemies, replied, that the Directory would receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which should be made to it by

the court of England, but required, for the purpose of avoiding delay, that the negotiations should be rather for a definitive than for a preliminary treaty. The British government rejoined, that it would depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations whether preliminary or definitive articles should be signed. The Directory, in three days after the date of Lord Grenville's last note, transmitted the necessary passports for a minister, furnished with full powers from his Britannic Majesty, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a definitive and separate treaty of peace; and fixed upon the city of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries. On the 17th of June, Lord Grenville, in a letter addressed to M. de la Croix, informed him that his Majesty had again made choice of Lord Malmsbury to represent him; to which the French minister assented, intimating, however, that another choice would have appeared to the Directory more favourable for the speedy conclusion of peace. On his arrival at Lisle, his lordship was met by the French plenipotentiaries—Letourneur, late member of the directorial council, Pleville le Pelley, and Hugues B. Maret, when he opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification which he had received from the British ministry. This *projet* required the cession of the colony of Trinidad, on the part of Spain; and of the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the East Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland; in return for which it was proposed that Great Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war: our minister further required the restoration of his personal property to the Prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money; and that France should engage to procure for him, at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United Provinces; that Portugal

should be included in the treaty, and that no demand should be made upon that country by France.

To these proposals the French answered, that, previously to entering on the main business, it was necessary that three concessions should be made: first, that his Britannic Majesty should resign the title of King of France; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made for them; and, thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of the money lent to the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of carrying on the war against France, should be given up. On the first of these points Lord Malmsbury observed, that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to answer every purpose they required, and which it was his intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed as proper to make a part of this: on the second, he replied, that the claim of restoring the ships was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for him to have been provided for it in his instructions: and, on the third, that if the French republic had taken the Low Countries as they stood, charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that, if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect. These were the observations that occurred to him on the first mention of the subjects to which they had adverted, but he would transmit the claims to his government for consideration. On the 15th of July the French plenipotentiaries addressed a note to Lord Malmsbury, in which it was stated that the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it had contracted with its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, established, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the

peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupied, not only from the French republic, but, further and formally, of those of Spain and the Batavian republic. Lord Malmsbury replied, that this was, in effect, to declare the intention of France to put an abrupt termination to the treaty, as it proposed cessions on one side without any compensation on the other: if this were the resolution of the Directory, the negotiation was at an end; and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in maintaining, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be ended but by yielding to terms at once disgraceful and unjust.

The French plenipotentiaries, feeling the justice of these observations, expressed a willingness to apply to the Directory for fresh instructions; but, though this assurance was given on the 23d of July, at a conference held on the 28th of August it was admitted that no specific instructions had arrived. It was at the same time announced that the delay of communication arose from the dissatisfaction of the Batavian republic at the suggestion of their settlements being retained by Great Britain. It was, however, notorious to all Europe, that the members of the Directory were at this period tottering in their seats; and that, during the delay of the negotiation, their attentions were confined to their own preservation. During this crisis, another revolution, as has already been related, took place in France, which expelled two of its members, Barthelemi and Carnot, from the office of directors. These events led to the recall of the French ambassadors, then at Lisle, and to the appointment of citizens Treilhard and Bonneir d'Alco as their successors; a change not more unpleasant to the feelings of Lord Malmsbury than inauspicious to

the progress of the negotiation. Immediately after their first interview, on the 13th of September, Lord Malmsbury was required to inform them whether he was empowered to concede, as a preliminary, that England should surrender all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies since the beginning of the war : and his lordship was further required to return an explicit answer in the course of the day. On the 16th his lordship addressed a note to the French plenipotentiaries, in which he intimated that he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of reciprocal compensation, a principle which had been formally recognised as a basis equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers. On the same day the French ministers apprized his lordship of a decree of the Executive Directory, purporting, that in case Lord Malmsbury should declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions, which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indispensable, he shall return in four-and-twenty hours to his court, to ask for sufficient powers. The obvious answer to this imperious mandate was returned by his lordship in a note, demanding the necessary passports : previously to his departure, however, another meeting took place, in which his lordship urged every consideration that might induce the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals, but without effect ; he therefore took his departure from Lisle on the morning of the 18th of September.

Parliament met on the 2d of November, and his Majesty expressed his firm conviction that the papers laid before the two Houses would prove to them, and to the world, that in the late negotiations at Lisle every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace ;

and that he still retained an ardent desire for the attainment of that blessing. When the King's speech came to be taken into consideration by the Commons, the House presented an extraordinary appearance; the benches on the left of the Speaker's chair no longer exhibited their usual occupants. Finding their counsels rejected, and their opposition unavailing, the opponents of ministers, with some few exceptions, had determined to withdraw for a time from their places in Parliament, and to leave the members of administration to pursue their own system of policy without control, alleging that they were wearied with attending merely to be outvoted, and reproached by the ministerial hirelings as enemies of their country. Under these circumstances, the address on the King's speech was voted in both Houses without a division.

On the consideration of the papers relating to the negotiation, an address passed both Houses by an almost unanimous vote, highly applauding the conduct of government, and expressing a firm determination to support his Majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties. It was considered by the nation at large that the concessions offered by England at Lisle were as great as it was proper to make, and that the claims of France were highly unreasonable and unjust; a great portion of the people consequently evinced a renewal of ardour in the prosecution of the war; and, the secession of the opposition from Parliament being disapproved of by many, the ministry acquired some increase of popularity.

A bill was introduced early in the present session, and speedily passed into a law, for continuing the existing restrictions on cash payments by the Bank of England; and on the 22d of November Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement relating to the public finances. The whole expense of the year

amounted to 25,500,000*l.*, and, for the purpose of furnishing a supply equal to this immense demand, Mr. Pitt declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and solid system of finance. Of this sum, 6,500,000*l.* would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Of the 19,000,000*l.* then remaining to be provided for, he proposed to raise seven within the year, by a new impost, under the designation of a triple assessment, which should be regulated by the existing assessed taxes, in a triplicate proportion to their actual amount, limited, however, to the tenth of each person's income; and from the application of this principle of taxation arose, at subsequent periods, the income and property taxes. Of the remaining 12,000,000*l.* four might be borrowed without creating an additional debt, the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount: the remaining 8,000,000*l.* he proposed to pay by continuing the triple assessment till the principal and interest were discharged, which would be the operation of little more than another year. This plan, he said, would greatly damp the hopes of the enemy, and show to him, and to all Europe, that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigencies of our situation. He acquiesced in what had been so often said, that it would have been fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced, and affirmed that the period had arrived when an absolute necessity existed for some change of system. Mr. Fox, at the request of his constituents, now again appeared in Parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new scheme of finance, which was also opposed by Mr. Tierney, who had been recently elected for Southwark, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen,

and others. After a number of animated debates, the triple assessment bill passed the House of Commons on the 4th of January, 1798, when the opposition divided 127 against 202. In the Lords it was also carried, after considerable opposition from the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, nephew of Mr. Fox, who made his first appearance as a public speaker on this occasion, and displayed considerable talent. During the progress of this bill a clause was introduced, on the motion of the Speaker, to admit of voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion by a powerful and enraged enemy; and the sum thus raised, under the sanction of Parliament, amounted to 1,500,000*l.* to which the Bank of England contributed 200,000*l.* the King 20,000*l.* and the Queen 5000*l.* out of their private purses.

The next financial measure submitted to Parliament, the redemption of the land-tax, was brought forward on the 2d of April. The revenue at that time derived from the tax amounted to 2,000,000*l.* This Mr. Pitt proposed to sell at twenty years' purchase, when the three *per cent.* consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in the price to purchasers, according to the rise of stocks. Forty millions sterling, the present amount of the land-tax at twenty years' purchase, would amount to 80,000,000*l.* three *per cent.* stock, affording an interest of 2,400,000*l.* and leaving, by this operation, a clear annual gain to the public revenue of 400,000*l.* The person who purchased his share of the land-tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. What was of much more consequence to the interests of the state, 80,000,000*l.* of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that would be given, they should, Mr. Pitt observed, be such as would induce every person who

was able to become a purchaser. The proprietor was of course to have the right of pre-emption; and, to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. The bill further provided, that, if the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase within a time to be limited, a further period should be allowed. In the absence of the leading members of opposition, this bill passed into a law, without encountering any considerable difficulties; but, from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one-fourth part of the land-tax was, within the space of the three succeeding years, bought up, and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, did not within that period exceed 50,000*l.* a year. At the same time that the land-tax at four shillings in the pound was made perpetual, certain duties to the amount of that tax, on sugar and tobacco, were rendered annual, in order that the control which Parliament previously possessed over the public purse might suffer no diminution.

Though a message had, early in the session, been sent to the two Houses, stating the preparations making by the enemy for the invasion of these kingdoms, and soliciting the attention of Parliament to the subject, some time elapsed before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. Mr. Dundas at length moved for the introduction of a bill, to enable his Majesty to call out a portion of the supplementary militia; and, after an interval of some weeks, a second bill was introduced, for the encouragement of voluntary associations in defence of the country. This call was promptly obeyed; and no period in the history of Great Britain was ever distinguished by more striking manifestations of patriotic feeling and military ardour. A third bill was brought into the House by Mr. Dundas, for the revival of the suspension of the Habeas

Corpus act, which, when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and another was held in daily expectation of an invasion, could not with propriety experience any opposition. The alien bill, for removing all suspicious foreigners out of the realm, was also renewed; and on the 25th of May Mr. Pitt, convinced that the dangers of the country were continually increasing from the vast preparations accumulating on the coast of France, moved for a bill for more effectually manning the navy. The chief object he had in view was the temporary suspension of the protections of seamen, and he expressed an earnest wish that the bill should pass that day through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each if required, and that it should be sent to the Lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney expressed his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be provided for in the usual way. The very extraordinary manner in which the House was called upon to adopt this measure could not fail, he said, to create great and unnecessary alarm; and, indeed, from all he had lately seen, he must view the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject. Mr. Pitt rose with considerable warmth, and said that, if every measure adopted against the designs of France was to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honourable gentleman. As a notice of the intended measure would enable those on whom it was meant to operate to elude its effects, how, he asked, could the honourable gentleman's opposition be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country? Mr. Tierney then rose, and called him to order; on which the Speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in a language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular: of

this the House would judge from the right honourable gentleman's explanation. Mr. Pitt said that, if the House waited for his explanation, he feared it would wait a long time. He knew very well that it was not Parliamentary to state the motives that actuated the opinions of members ; but it was impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induced an opposition. He submitted to the judgment of the House the propriety of what he had urged, but he would not depart from any thing he had advanced by either retraction or explanation. Mr. Tierney immediately left the House, and the next morning sent Mr. Pitt a challenge. On Sunday afternoon, the 27th, at three o'clock, the parties met on Putney-Heath, when two cases of pistols being discharged without effect, Mr. Pitt firing his second pistol in the air, the seconds interfered, and the matter was accommodated.

In this year, as in the preceding, the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself obliged to lay before the House a second estimate of supplies, when he took occasion to state that the loan must be 15 instead of 12,000,000*l.* ; and that the triple assessment, which was calculated at 7,000,000*l.*, would, it was apprehended, from the numerous modifications and abatements, be reduced to 4,500,000*l.* The interest of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at 763,000*l.* which he proposed to provide for by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses and carriages, and by a tax on armorial bearings. The various duties on houses and windows were, at the same time, consolidated into one table.

Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade was this session seconded by Mr. Pitt, and negatived by only four voices. A better fortune, however, attended a Bill for regulating the shipping and carrying of slaves in British vessels

from Africa, which passed by a great majority. A motion by the Duke of Bedford for an address to the throne, stating the urgent necessity of a change in the ministry, was negatived, after a long and vehement debate, by a majority of 100.

In an early period of the session Earl Moira called the attention of the Lords to the state of Ireland, and entreated the House to take into consideration the tendency of the oppressive and cruel system now practised with the authority of government, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented, and would, he feared, if the system were not changed, ultimately separate Ireland from this country for ever. His lordship's motion, to this effect, was opposed by Lord Grenville and the Lord-Chancellor, on the ground that the House was not in possession of any authentic information on the subject; and that, supposing the evils complained of really to exist, the power to redress them was not vested in the British, but in the Irish Parliament. The question of adjournment was consequently put and carried. On the 16th of March Earl Moira again brought the general state of the affairs of Ireland under consideration, and stated that he had the affidavits of a hundred persons in his possession, to prove that torture had been employed, in extorting confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours; and that horrible devastation had been made on the houses and property of persons accused of disaffection. The Marquis of Downshire replied that zeal had carried the noble lord too far in his representations against the executive government. Some of the army might have committed excesses, but he would contend that it was not in consequence of any orders they had received either from their officers or from government. With respect to coercion, he would not disguise that he was one of the

first to recommend the proclamation for putting the county of Down under martial law. Earl Moira rose to reply, but he was called to order by the Earl of Caernarvon, and his lordship reluctantly suffered the conversation to drop, after observing that the documents he had referred to did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops.

On the 15th of June, Ireland being then in a state of actual rebellion, the Duke of Leinster, after an impressive speech, moved an address, humbly requesting that his Majesty would direct the proper officers to lay before that House a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils. A long and animated debate ensued; but the motion was negatived by 51 against 18. On the same day Lord G. Cavendish, in the House of Commons, introduced a series of resolutions, recommending a system of policy to be adopted towards Ireland, at once firm and conciliatory, and wherein severity should be tempered with mercy. These resolutions were seconded by Lord John Russell; but, on the motion of Mr. Canning for proceeding to the order of the day, were negatived by 212 to 66. Mr. Fox, in conformity with a notice previously given, then rose, and moved the following resolution, which was also negatived by a similar majority:—"That this House, understanding it to be a matter of notoriety that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and, particularly, that scourges and other tortures have been employed to extort confessions, is of opinion that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name; and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the

executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice such atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and terror.”

These discussions took place in both Houses with closed doors, and the same system of secrecy was pursued on the 19th of June, when a message from the King announced that various regiments of militia had made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion unhappily existing in that country. In the Lords, an address, empowering his Majesty to accept any such offers, was carried after an animated debate; and in the other House Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that, as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure, he should content himself with moving the thanks of the House to his Majesty for his most gracious communication. An animated debate, however, ensued, in which it was argued that, if the militia force of this kingdom were sent to Ireland, the principle of the militia bill, as originally established, would be completely abandoned, and that the measure was a gross and flagrant violation of the constitution. Mr. Bankes moved, as an amendment, that the House considered the proposition suggested in his Majesty's message as of the utmost consequence, and such as required further deliberation. Mr. Secretary Windham said it had been suggested that the House ought to pause before it agreed to the address; but were they to pause while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the King's troops and rebels were fighting, and not to assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty? On a division of the House, there appeared for the address 118, against 47, and bills, founded

upon the message, were afterwards passed, previously to the prorogation of Parliament on the 29th of June.

England being thus deprived of about 12,000 of its constitutional defenders, though still under the imminent apprehension of an invasion, a spirit of military ardour, equal to any exigency, at once seized and pervaded the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men eagerly formed themselves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice, acting under temporary commissions from the King.

Before the rebellion of Ireland broke out into a flame, it had been some time evident that a dark and dangerous connexion was carrying on between the Society of *United Irishmen* and the French government, having for its aim nothing less than the dissolution of the connexion between the two kingdoms. The Irish nation, never losing sight of their having once been independent, had been engaged in frequent attempts to throw off the British yoke, and the estates forfeited on the suppression of these insurrections were granted to English settlers, who, generally differing in religious principles, and engrossing political power, were always regarded by the native Irish as intruders and plunderers, from whence arose a jealousy and antipathy which time has not yet been able to eradicate, although, after a series of years, the new settlers began to side with the natives, and to consider themselves as having one common interest in their country.

The British government, having seen the fatal effects of coercive measures in the case of America, had since adopted towards Ireland a more liberal and enlightened system of policy. The penal statutes against the Roman Catholics were repealed; they held their land on the like terms with the Protestants; they enjoyed, in short, every right and

franchise in common with the former, saving only the offices of state, and the privilege of sitting in Parliament. The Irish Catholics, deeming themselves injured by the restrictions which continued, instead of being favoured by the relief bestowed, desired a participation in the privileges that were still withheld; and the Protestants conceived that the admission of a sect, so superior to their own in number, to an equality of immunities, would be eventually a surrender of their own acquisitions and possessions, as the Catholics, by outnumbering them in Parliament, might claim and recover the possessions of their ancestors, of which they very naturally deemed the Protestants usurpers. The lower classes of Catholics, ignorant and superstitious, and governed by their priests, were inflamed with the greatest rancour against the Protestants, whom they abhorred as heretics, and detested as interlopers. This jealousy on one side, and hatred on the other, were at their height when the French revolution astonished Europe, and elated the hopes of the reforming parties both in England and Ireland, who now thought that the dread of the people would operate so powerfully upon their rulers as to insure the fulfilment of their demands. The Society of *United Irishmen*, projected and organized by Wolfe Tone, proposed to connect the whole Irish nation together, for the purpose of a general melioration of their condition, by a reform of Parliament, and an equalization of Catholic with Protestant privileges, without any exception, civil or political. The Protestants, persuaded that, whatever their real purpose might be, the ferment they were agitating must be inimical to the existing establishments, formed counter associations, and assumed the name of *Orange-men*, in honour of King William, the vindicator of Protestant security, and the establisher of Protestant property and power in Ireland. The Orange-men

proposing to disarm the Catholics, bodies of these associated to resist the attempt, and assumed the name of *Defenders*, and various feuds took place, accompanied with great disorder and some bloodshed. The United Irishmen did not immediately amalgamate with the Defenders, who were rather violently outrageous than systematically designing; in them, however, they saw willing instruments when their own deep-laid schemes should be ripe for execution. Whether the designs of these associates were *originally* to effect a complete separation of Ireland from Britain has not been ascertained as a fact, but that in the progress of their concert they had formed such a project is beyond all doubt; and in justice to the Catholics it must be observed, that the conspirators were not exclusively of that community, reform and Catholic emancipation being used by the leaders of the malcontents rather to entrap the unwary, than as the true object of those under whose banners the great mass of the disaffected were preparing to shed their blood.

So early as the year 1794, the French government had sent an agent, named Jackson, a clergyman of the established church of England, and a native of Ireland, into these kingdoms, to acquire intelligence; and he at first took up his residence at the house of a merchant of the name of Stone, at Old-ford, near London; but, finding that the project of an invasion of England was hopeless, he repaired to Ireland, whence he carried on a correspondence with his friend, the English merchant. They were both, however, soon afterwards apprehended and tried on a charge of high treason, when Stone was pronounced not guilty, but Jackson was convicted; and at the moment when sentence of death was about to be passed upon him, he fell down suddenly, and expired in the court. On this conviction, Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and some other distin-

guished members of the Society of United Irishmen, absconded to France ; but, soon after the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland in 1795, that society received an important accession of men of talents and influence, among whom were Arthur O'Connor, late a member of the Irish Parliament, the nephew and presumptive heir of Lord Longueville ; Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the Catholic committee ; Oliver Bond, an opulent Dublin merchant ; and a barrister named Emmet. About the close of that year a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the Society with the French Directory, through the medium of Tone and other Irish refugees ; and early in the following year a proposition was received from the French government, and accepted by the secret committee of the Society of United Irishmen, to send over an army to Ireland, to assist in the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from the British connexion. The first agents of the insurgents demanded from France any number of troops, not more than 10 nor less than 5000 ; but the French showed a decided inclination to send an army sufficient to conquer and to retain possession of the country—50 or 60,000 at least. Three armaments, one from Spain, a second from France, and a third from Holland, were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland in the same year ; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Earl St. Vincent, and that of the Batavian fleet by Lord Duncan, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion. These disasters by no means discouraged the insurgents, who had their expectations buoyed up by an assurance, on the part of the French Directory, that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France in the month of April or May, 1798. At the commencement of this year a grand effort was resolved upon : in the month of February, a

military commission was appointed by the Executive Council of the insurgents, and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the use of arms. At the same time, Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended Executive Directory, repaired to London with an intention of proceeding to France, in company with Binns, a very active member of the London Corresponding Society, Coigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the names of Allen and Leary. Attempts had likewise been recently made, with some success, to form a society of United Englishmen on the model of the United Irish, and Coigley and Binns were the chief promoters of this design, which also extended itself to Scotland.

Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and designs of O'Connor and his associates, they were taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France, on the 28th of February. After being confined some time in the Tower, they were removed to Maidstone, where they were tried by a special commission on the 21st and 22d of May, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland; and Coigley, on whose person was found a paper, purporting to be an address "from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," was capitally convicted, and died with heroic fortitude in what he considered the cause of his country. No evidence appearing against Allen and Leary, they were immediately set at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns were detained on another charge of high treason, preferred against them by the British government. After the proclamation of many districts in the southern and midland counties, the imprisonment and transportation of several persons implicated in the conspiracy, and other acts of power, a very severe wound was inflicted, on the

12th of March, upon the union, by the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Dublin. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, a Roman Catholic gentleman, of Kilkea Castle, in the county of Kildare, who had associated with the conspirators, and was colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, treasurer of the county in which he resided, and provincial delegate for Leinster. In these arrests were included the most active and efficient leaders of the union, Emmet, M'Niven, and Bond, being among the number.

At the same time a warrant was issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and 1000*l.* offered for his apprehension; but his lordship for some time eluded the vigilance of the police, and remained for several weeks concealed in the city of Dublin: at length, however, he was discovered, on the 19th of May; and after a hopeless effort to effect his escape, in which he wounded Justice Swan dangerously, and Captain Ryan mortally, he was himself so desperately shot in the shoulder, that, after languishing till the 3d of the following month, he died in extreme agony. This young nobleman, who was brother to the Duke of Leinster, and married to a daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable powers of mind, and of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish. The loss of such a man to the insurgent cause, and at such a juncture, cannot be estimated. The vacancies created in the directorial and other departments, by these arrests, were supplied without difficulty, but with men much less fit for the arduous task of overturning a settled government. Among the members of the new

Directory were two brothers, barristers, of the name of Sheares, to whom Captain Armstrong, a government agent, found ready access, and, by a show of great zeal in the cause, obtained the confidence of the leaders, from whom he learned that a general rising must immediately take place ; that the impatience of the people since the criminal prosecutions could no longer be restrained ; and that it was become necessary to make a great and immediate national effort, without waiting for French succours. The plan proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, all on the night of the 23d of May : and it was further determined that a simultaneous rising should take place at Cork : on the 21st, however, the two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended ; the city and county of Dublin were declared, by the Lord-Lieutenant and council, to be in a state of insurrection ; the guards at the castle, and at all the great objects of attack, were trebled ; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garrison. Amongst the precautions taken on this occasion by government was the augmentation of the several corps of armed yeomanry, a species of force that was first embodied in the month of October, 1796, in a kind of independent companies. These yeomanry corps were each composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, with a much smaller body of infantry attached to them, and were generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants ; the infantry being armed like a regular army, and the cavalry furnished with a pistol and sword each, to which sometimes a carbine was added. In six months from their first establishment, the numbers increased to 37,000 ; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000.

Of the means accumulated by the disaffected, for carrying their revolutionary enterprises into effect, some estimate may be made from the following facts:—a paper, in his own handwriting, was given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Mr. Reynolds, the informer, which purported to be a return made by a national committee meeting, held the 26th of February, 1798, and from which it appeared that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to 269,896, and that the sum of 1485*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* was in the hands of the treasurer. Another return made by a meeting of colonels, held on the 28th of March, 1798, reported, that their adherents, even among the King's troops, were in the proportion of one in every three, and that the insurgents were in sufficient force to disarm all the military within the bounds of their own counties. That the armoury of the rebel force was at one time most extensive cannot be doubted, when it is stated that the following number of arms was seized by the different general officers in the year 1797, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster alone:—49,109 guns, 1756 bayonets, 4463 pistols, 4183 swords, 248 blunderbusses, 119 musket-barrels, 106 sword-blades, 22 pieces of ordnance, and 70,630 pikes, exclusive of many arms seized or surrendered, which are not included in this return. In the same year 14,973 pikes were surrendered in the county of Kildare alone, in consequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant; and, in Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1798, five pieces of cannon, and 500 pike-handles, were seized.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie having been appointed, on the 12th of December, 1797, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, his first step in the discharge of his public duty was to make a tour of observation throughout the island. The excesses committed by the military in the provinces called down severe

reprehension ; and on his return to the capital he caused it to be notified, in general orders, that the irregularities of the troops in Ireland had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy. The general, after the publication of his general orders, and under the influence of the observations he had made in his recent view of the country, endeavoured to impress the minds of those in power with his own opinions, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary in Ireland. But not having succeeded in producing the effect he intended by these representations, and unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character by leading troops to scenes of civil desolation, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland on the 29th of April, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by General Lake. In the month of March orders were issued to the army by the Lord-Lieutenant to proceed into the disturbed counties ; and a manifesto, dated from head-quarters at Kildare, was on the 3d of the ensuing month addressed to the inhabitants, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the notice, on pain of large bodies of troops being distributed among them to live at free quarters ; promising at the same time to reward such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, but denouncing exemplary severities if the country should continue in a disturbed state. On the advance of the military into the other counties, a similar notice was given to the inhabitants, and the troops in the county of Kildare, and part of those in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, were quartered in the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability

of the owners. Great numbers of houses with their furniture were burnt, where concealed arms were found, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or other illegal practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many irregularities were of course committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, and many other acts of severity by persons not in the army; some from an unfeigned zeal for the service of the crown, and others to promote sinister purposes, or to gratify a spirit of personal animosity.

It now became evident that nothing short of one of those tremendous convulsions, which shake states to their centre, could clear the political atmosphere of Ireland. The rebel chiefs had decided on open war, and the 23d of May was the day appointed for the general rising of the country.

Subsequently to the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the command of the rebel army devolved upon Samuel Neilson, who meditated an attack upon Newgate, in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of rescuing his lordship. With this view he assembled fifteen of the insurgent colonels on the night of the 22d of May, and, having produced a map of the city, he assigned to each of them the post which they and their regiments were to occupy. The prison and the vice-regal residence were marked out as the first objects of attack, and the latter edifice was to be assailed in front and rear by different parties, while a select band was to ascend by ladders into the apartments of the principal members of government, and to secure their persons. Nor was it intended that the insurrection should be confined merely to the metropolis; the plan embraced the whole kingdom, and the signal for the general rising was to be the stoppage of the mail-coaches. This part of the project was indeed carried into effect,

for, on the 23d, the Belfast mail-coach was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and that travelling in the direction of Athlone at Lucan; but the rebels, not satisfied with detaining the Limerick mail, barbarously murdered both the guard and coachman near the Curragh of Kildare. Early in the morning of the 23d, all the yeomen in the city, amounting to about 3500, and the few military in the garrison, were ordered by General Lake to repair to the respective alarm-posts, while the Lord-Mayor placed the Cork militia, with two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's Green. It fortunately happened that the royal canal and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad and twelve feet deep, formed a complete fortification on the north and south sides of the city; and all the bridges being occupied by military, the communication with the disaffected from without was in a considerable degree cut off.

This operation was not, however, carried into complete effect, as nearly 3000 men entered the city to the north, on the evening of the 23d, for the purpose of joining the insurgents. A large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muskets, assembled in Eccles-street, and its environs, as well as in various other parts of the city, and great numbers were advancing towards Dublin, with an intention of rushing into the city, as soon as the insurgents had carried the castle. At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chief, was apprehended in the streets, by Mr. Greig, after a desperate struggle; and on their leader being committed to prison, several thousand rebels, who were waiting with impatience the signal of attack, dispersed in various directions. The plan of the rebels was, it appeared, to assemble by beat of drum; and it is well known, observes Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, that, in another hour, the fate of the city and its loyal

inhabitants would have been decided ; for the mass of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes and by-places, ready to start forth on the first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen, before they could have reached their respective stations. On the night of the 23d, and during the following day, several skirmishes were fought in the counties adjoining the seat of government, and the towns of Naas, Clane, Prosperous, Ballymore Eustace, and Kilcullen, were attacked by the insurgent force ; and Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven, had to withstand similar assaults on the two following days. These feeble and unconnected efforts were not countenanced by a general rising ; for Ulster, in which province alone 150,000 United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, declined the contest, in consequence of the unpromising state of their affairs ; and the progress of rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto rather resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation. War being openly commenced by the conspirators, the Lord-Lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice that orders were conveyed to all his Majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons aiding the rebellion, and the following day presented an opportunity for carrying into effect these heavy denunciations. On the 24th of May, an unusually large assemblage of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, forty miles southwest of Dublin, indicated that an attack on that place had been decided upon, and, on the day following, the garrison, consisting of about 450 men, under Colonel Mahon, was assailed by a body of 1000 or 1500 insurgents. On their advance into

the town, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled, and endeavoured to retreat, but, finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which being immediately fired by the soldiery, they met a miserable fate. The loss of the rebels on this occasion could not be estimated at less than 500, while not an individual on the side of the loyalists was even wounded; and, after the defeat, about 200 insurgents were hanged or shot.

While, by the successful operations of the loyalists, the communication was laid open between the various parts of the kingdom and the capital, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade, an insurrection burst out where it was least expected, and in a few days the county of Wexford was in a flame. On the night of the 26th of May the standard of rebellion was hoisted between Gorey and Wexford, and Father John Murphy, a Romish priest, of Boulavogue, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, two large bodies of whom, both men and women, were collected on the following day, being Whit-Sunday, one on the hill of Oulart, the other on Kilthomas Hill, the latter of which, amounting to from 2 to 3000, and commanded by Michael Murphy, another Romish priest, were attacked by about 300 yeomen, who advanced intrepidly up the hill, when the rebel force, notwithstanding their superior numbers, retreated in disorder, leaving 150 of their companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with a victory so honourable to their skill and courage, tarnished the laurels of the day by burning two Romish chapels, and about 100 cabins and farm-houses belonging to persons of that community, in their line of march. Very different from the battle of Kilthomas was the result of another action fought on the same day, on the hill of Oulart,

and where Father John Murphy commanded in person. The insurgents, finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with an impetuosity that overthrew all opposition; and so successful were their efforts, that a whole picked detachment of 110 men, from the North Cork militia, was slain, with the exception of Colonel Foote and four of his men; while the loss of the rebels was only three killed and six wounded. Father John, flushed with victory, advanced to Enniscorthy, and that place was attacked on the 28th by a rebel force amounting to 7000, of which about 800 were armed with muskets. Victory, which fluctuated for three hours, at length took her stand in the rebel ranks, and the military, having no cannon to support them, were driven to the necessity of sounding a retreat. The loss of the garrison, including volunteers, amounted to about 90, and of the rebels it is estimated that at least 300 fell.

The next movement of the insurgents was to Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy. While they halted at this place on the 29th, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who, with Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, of Bargycastle, had previously been committed by the loyalists to the prison at Wexford, on suspicion of having favoured the rebel cause, were despatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. This unpromising mission entirely failed; and Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Fitzgerald was detained. So prompt were the rebels in their movements, that before the evening of the same day their advanced guard was pushed forward to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and that eminence fixed upon as one of their future military stations. On their approach the consternation of the inhabitants of Wexford became extreme; suspicion haunted every bosom;

and, as a measure of precaution, orders were issued to extinguish all the fires, even those of the bakers, and to unroof all the thatched houses in the town, to prevent the incendiary operations of the disaffected. In this extremity multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in the harbour; the shops were all shut, and many of the affrighted inhabitants sought security in flight. The military force at this time in Wexford amounted to about 1200 men, whilst the rebels were at least 15,000. It was announced to the garrison, in the course of the evening, that General Fawcett was marching from the fort of Duncannon, and that his arrival with a strong reinforcement might be hourly expected. The general, having arrived in the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a small detachment, which was unfortunately intercepted on the morning of the 30th, near the camp at Three Rocks, and after a sharp engagement, in which a majority of their number was killed, the survivors fell into the hands of the enemy. The general, on receiving the account of this disaster, retreated precipitately towards Duncannon, with which the troops in Wexford were unacquainted for several hours; and Colonel Maxwell, acting upon the supposition that the general would be able to take the rebels in the rear, while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town on the following morning, taking with him the principal part of the regular force at that time in the garrison; but this operation proved altogether unsuccessful. On the return of the troops a council of war was hastily assembled, when it was determined to evacuate the town, into which the insurgents poured by thousands, shouting, and exhibiting every mark of extravagant exultation. Their first step was to proceed to the prison, whence they instantly liberated Mr. Harvey, and insisted that he should become their commander. The inhabitants, rendered hos-

pitiable by their fears, entertained them with great profusion, and, after various scenes of disorder, naturally attendant on such an occasion, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition they could find in the ships and other vessels in the harbour; and those who were recognised as having rendered themselves obnoxious to these sanguinary wretches were pierced with pikes upon the beach.

The night of the 30th passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the morning of the 31st the streets were again crowded, and the confusion and plunder of the preceding day recommenced. After much entreaty, the insurgent force was induced to move out of the town, and encamp on Windmill-hills, where they divided into two bodies; there remained, however, a kind of rebel authority in the place, which assumed the office of supplying the camps, and issuing proclamations.

By this time the insurrection had become general throughout the country, except where the people were kept down by the presence of the military; all the forges, both in town and country, were in consequence continually employed in fabricating pike-blades; and four oyster-smacks were fitted out in the harbour, to cruise off the bay, and to bring in vessels laden with provisions, to supply the markets, which were totally deserted by the farmers. All specie seemed to have vanished during the insurrection; and bank notes were held in such low estimation, that great quantities of them were destroyed in lighting tobacco-pipes, and in wadding for firelocks. So much indeed was the value of paper money depreciated, and of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for one penny in cash, when a bank note of the nominal value of 20s. would not purchase the same weight of that commodity.

Whilst the southern part of the county of Wexford was in this horrible state of commotion, the northern baronies towards Gorey were all frightfully agitated. On the morning of the 1st of June, the garrison of Bunclody, three miles from Enniscorthy, consisting of 500 men, was attacked by a detachment of rebels, from the camp at Vinegar-hill, amounting to about 5000, and commanded by Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity. After a sharp engagement, during which the loyalists were at one time obliged to quit the town, the assailants were at length defeated, with a loss of about 200 slain, while that of the victors amounted only to two privates. This victory was of no small importance, as a different result would have opened a way for the Wexford rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must have given great embarrassment to government.

Whilst one division of the Wexfordian army, under Father John Murphy, were prosecuting their victorious career in the north, the other, under Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, advanced to the west, for the purpose of attacking New Ross; but the capture of the town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison consisted of 1200 effective men, exclusive of 150 yeomen, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, and were all judiciously stationed. About five o'clock in the morning of the 5th of June, 30,000 insurgents, about one-fourth armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes, marched up to the place with great bravery, drove in the advanced guard, and took possession of the alarm-post. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed by a detachment of the fifth dragoons; they, however, instantly rallied, and notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they

advanced, such were the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison fled over the bridge with great precipitation. The commanding officer, however, having re-animated his men, contrived to turn the rear of the assailants, who were now dispersed and overcome; and, as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, after a contest of several hours, first to Corbet, and then to Carrickbyrne-hills. The slaughter of the rebels was prodigious: the King's troops lost about 90 men killed, among whom was Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, and the wounded and missing amounted to about 130. Enraged at this defeat, some dastardly rebels turned their fury against objects incapable of resistance, and more than 100 Protestant loyalists were wantonly and barbarously massacred in cold blood.

The army under Father Michael Murphy, about 20,000 strong, advanced against Arklow on the 9th of June. The attack, which continued for upwards of two hours, was fierce and irregular; but the incessant fire of the troops rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. At length Father Michael, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned; but, though he had represented himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon shot, on which his troops instantly retreated in disorder towards Coolgrency. The insurgent army, now under the command of General Byrne, next meditated an attack on Hacketstown; but the approach of General Lake compelled them to abandon that design, and to commence their retreat, on the 20th, for Vinegar-hill. The army under General Needham moved from Arklow to Gorey on the 19th, and from thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, for the purpose of co-operating

in a plan formed by General Lake for surrounding the rebel station at Vinegar-hill. For this purpose different armies moved at the same time from various quarters—that under Lieutenant-general Dundas from Baltinglass; another, under Majors-general Sir James Duff and Loftus, from Tullow; that from Arklow under General Needham; and a fourth from Ross, under Majors-general Johnson and Eustace. On the march of the army from Ross, the rebel bands under Father Philip Roche, on Lacken-hill, fled in the utmost confusion, and separated into two bodies, one of which directed its march to Wexford, and the other to Vinegar-hill. This famous eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles in circumference, had been in the possession of the rebels ever since the 28th of May, during which period continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. The army commanded to march from different quarters to surround this post consisted, in the whole, of about 13,000 effective men, with a formidable train of artillery; and with such a strength, judiciously directed, the whole insurgent army, estimated at 20,000, might have been taken or destroyed. The troops, being divided into four distinct columns, advanced, early in the morning of the 21st, against the insurgents; while a fifth, under General Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, scaled the heights in different directions; but, notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the rebels were enabled, from the strength of their position, to defend the line during an hour and a half; and it was not till they were out-flanked, and nearly surrounded, that they gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces. The slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion; and those who escaped

the musket, when overtaken, perished by the bayonet; whilst the King's troops had not above 100 either killed or wounded. The action was less bloody than might have been supposed, as the troops under General Needham, being unable to reach the position assigned them, left an opening through which the rebels retreated, and which, from that circumstance, was ludicrously called *Needham's gap*. Through this opening an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney, part of which entered Wexford; while another, and more numerous detachment, headed by the chiefs, Murphy and Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and, having held a hasty council of war, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny. Wexford was relieved on the same day as Enniscorthy; Brigadier-general Moore, whose troops had, on the preceding day vanquished a rebel force of 5 or 6000 men at Goffs-bridge, near Hore-town, having, on the morning of the 21st, received a proposal from the inhabitants to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided he would guarantee their lives and property. This proposal General Moore felt it his duty to transmit to General Lake, and, marching directly for Wexford, he stationed his army within a mile of that place, the loyalists of which, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since it fell into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of incessant apprehension and suffering.

The Wexford insurgents, in the hope that their offer of surrender would be acceded to by General Lake, and conscious that it was impossible to oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming force brought against them, liberated Lord Kingsborough, who had been some time a prisoner, and on the 21st surrendered the town into his hands. Contrary to their hopes, General Lake insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the place; and, in his answer

to their proposal, informed the inhabitants that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms against their sovereign. On the evacuation of the town by the main body of insurgents, part of them, under Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest, under Father Philip Roche, in an opposite direction, into the barony of Forth.

The body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill, and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny by the Scullagh gap, which separates the counties of Carlow and Wexford, burnt the village of Killedmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of Father John Murphy, of Boulavogue. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by Lieutenant Dixon, who in vain endeavoured to maintain his post against their overwhelming disparity of force; but their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by General Dunn and Sir Charles Asgill, and totally defeated, on the 26th of June, at Kilcomney-hill, with a loss of from 2 to 300 slain, and ten light pieces of cannon taken, with 700 horses, and all the rest of their plunder. Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and, being conducted to the head-quarters of General Sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market-house.

In the south the spirit of rebellion was now happily approaching to its termination; and in the north the disaffected Protestants, shocked at the enormities perpetrated and the intolerance displayed, and scandalized by the pretended miracles wrought by the blood-stained priests, Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days, though, on being attacked with cannon and musketry on the 7th of June, they were

driven out of the town with the loss of about 200 slain, but not till Lord O'Neill, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had been mortally wounded. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carrickfergus ; and at Ballynahinch they received a total overthrow. On the subsiding of this minor rebellion in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, which was easily suppressed.

After the signal defeat of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, and their consequent expulsion from Enniscorthy, Wexford, &c. a considerable number dispersed, and returned to their usual occupations. The more desperate retired to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow counties, where, for a while, they waged a desultory warfare, but in the course of a few weeks were completely subdued ; and those who still resisted might rather be considered as small companies of banditti, who lurked in the woods and mountains, and committed nocturnal depredations, than as an embodied force. At length the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore ; and this sanguinary insurrection, which broke out on the 23d of May, and raged with intense fury till the 22d of the following month, was finally extinguished on the 12th of July.

Dublin, having escaped the horrors of insurrection, now became the theatre of public justice. The first person brought to trial was a rebel chief of the name of Bacon, in an extensive line of business in the metropolis, and of the Protestant persuasion, who, being found guilty of high treason, was executed on the 14th, on the same scaffold with Lieutenant Esmond, a Roman Catholic, convicted of heading the rebel forces. Henry and John Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork, and educated for the bar, were condemned on the clearest evidence, and executed in the front of Newgate. The trial of John

M'Cann, secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th of July, and he suffered with Michael William Byrne, delegate for the county committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond, a man of considerable fortune, and one of the principal conspirators, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the 12th of March, was arraigned for high-treason on the 23d of July, and his trial continued till seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, when he was convicted. These trials were all by jury; but in Wexford, and other parts of the country, the more summary tribunals of courts-martial were resorted to. On the 25th of June Matthew Keugh, the rebel governor of Wexford; the Rev. Philip Roche, the general; and seven others, having been previously convicted, were brought to the bridge at Wexford, and executed. Among the persons who suffered for high-treason on the same bridge were Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Cornelius Grogan. The two former, who had quitted the rebel army soon after the battle of Ross, disgusted, as they declared in their last moments, with the cruelties and oppression which had been exercised on those who fell into the hands of the rebellious mob, were discovered and taken in a cave on one of the Saltee Islands, or rather rocks, which lie in the entrance of Wexford harbour: Grogan, a penurious old gentleman, died possessed of an estate of 8000*l.* a year. In the town of Wexford alone, not fewer than sixty-five persons were executed for the crimes of rebellion and murder.

The state of Ireland appearing to require a Lord-Lieutenant who could act in a military as well as civil capacity, the Marquis Cornwallis was appointed to succeed Earl Camden, and made his entrance into the capital on the 20th of June. He united conciliation with firmness; and, whilst displaying a

system of moderation and mercy to the infatuated rabble, did not fail to make example of those who had misled them. On the 3d of July a proclamation from the new Viceroy appeared in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing his Majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. To give the full sanction of law to this measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish Parliament, on the 17th, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all who, not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions of the proclamation. This act was followed by a treaty between the government and the chiefs of the United Irishmen, negotiated by Mr. Counsellor Dobbs, a member of the House of Commons, bearing date the 29th of July, and expressed in the following terms:—"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever; and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution; and also Mr. Oliver Bond (then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be

extended to such persons in custody as may choose to benefit by it."

Some of the rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, among whom was Aylmer, now surrendered their persons. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Eddis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, and other principals of the conspiracy, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of the two Houses of Parliament, from which it appeared that the rebellion originated in a system formed, not with a view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic; that the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematic combination, artfully linked and connected together, with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body; that, for the further accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy concluded an alliance with the French Directory in 1796, by which it was stipulated that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, as subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection; that, in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy for giving to their societies a military form; that, for arming their adherents, they had recourse to the fabrication of pikes; that, from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking

out of the rebellion, and probably its ultimate failure.

The principal prisoners, however, being found to abuse the lenity of government, by secretly labouring to revive the expiring flame of rebellion, were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in the north of Scotland, where they continued in confinement till the conclusion of the war. They were then permitted to enjoy their liberty, on condition of withdrawing from his Majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond died, by a stroke of apoplexy, in prison.

Robberies and assassinations would probably have ceased on the granting of protections, if some desperate marauders, reinforced by deserters from several regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. These banditti continued for many months to infest those parts of the country; but, after a little time, the woods, being scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *The Babes in the Wood*. The party in the Wicklow mountains continued, under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree.

Hitherto the French Directory had contemplated the progress of the civil war in Ireland with tranquillity; but when only the faint sparks of expiring rebellion could be perceived, and the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, an expedition under General Humbert, consisting of about 1100 men, embarked from Rochelle, in three frigates, and landing on the 22d of August, in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, took up their headquarters at the bishop's palace. Although a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, encircled with the motto of *Erin go Bragh*, (Ireland for ever,) but few of the peasantry could

be prevailed on to join the invaders. Having left a small garrison under Colonel Charost at Killala, to keep up the communication, and receive supplies, General Humbert clothed and armed those who repaired to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar, experiencing no obstacle in his route. The army collected there, under General Lake, commander-in-chief of the forces in Connaught, consisted of from 2 to 3000 regulars; and Humbert, relying chiefly for success on his own troops, contrived to post his new levies on the flanks in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy. The field of battle, to which he advanced on the morning of the 27th, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines, which crowned its summit; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, in a valley; and some guns, posted in front, commanded a rising ground, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. By an unfortunate precipitancy, the fire of the English lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be available—a mistake of which the enemy taking advantage, rushed forward with his main body; and the sharp-shooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns abandoned their charge in a panic. The Earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and so far succeeded as to impede the progress of the assailants, but they were pursued with alacrity; and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse, and nearly cut off. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded exceeded 200, and that of the British was still more considerable.

Castlebar, a place of some importance, on account

of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of deserters from the Irish militia regiments, chiefly actuated by the hopes of a booty, joined this force; but, to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals. The British force, after the defeat of Castlebar, retreated the same night to Tuam, a distance of thirty miles from the scene of action, whence they proceeded towards Athlone. Aware of the danger that might arise to the country from the presence of an invading army, Lord Cornwallis determined to take the field in person, and, quitting Dublin on the 24th of August, arrived on the 28th at Athlone, where he received the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of General Lake; and, after a halt of two days, proceeded in the direction of Hollymount, where he arrived on the 4th of September.

General Humbert, hoping to obtain succours, quitted Castlebar on the morning of the 4th, and, after a number of skirmishes, arrived on the 8th at Ballynamuck, so closely followed by General Lake, that his rear guard was unable to break down the bridge at Ballintra. Lord Cornwallis, on finding that the invader had quitted Castlebar, repassed the Shannon at Carrick; and the French forces, being surrounded by a British army amounting to 20,000 men, surrendered after an ineffectual resistance. The rebel auxiliaries, now accumulated to about 1500, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and about 500 of their number were slain in the pursuit, exclusive of about 100 taken prisoners; among whom were found Teeling, Blake, and Roach, three of their chiefs. The number of French troops who surrendered on this occasion amounted to 96 officers, and 748 non-commissioned officers and pri-

vates; having sustained a loss of 288 since their first landing at Killala.

Previously to the march of General Humbert from Castlebar, on the 4th of September, he had called in all his forces, with the exception of three officers left at Killala, and one at Ballina, in command of the rebel garrisons at those places. At length, on the 22d of September, the King's forces arrived at Ballina, and obliged the garrison to retreat to Killala, where a large body of troops under Major-general Trench arrived on the following day, and a contest ensued, in which about 400 of the rebel forces were slain. The courts-martial assembled the day after the battle of Killala, and were not dissolved till they had disposed of 185 prisoners: among others General Bellew, of an ancient Irish family, who had served eighteen years in Germany, was found guilty of treason, and executed. The French officers taken at Killala were sent to Dublin, and thence to London, where three of their number, Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, were, on the favourable report of Dr. Stock, the Bishop of Killala, set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. In other parts of the country, also, a number of rebel chiefs and inferior insurgents were tried and executed; among whom were two Irishmen by birth, who had been in the military service of France before the invasion, and had come to Ireland in the French fleet.

The little army landed at Killala had been intended, it appears, only as a van-guard to a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow: providentially, however, for the safety of the British empire, the French government had been as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert as they had been in sending succours to the support of the rebel force in the south of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay

in the equipment of the second fleet, and, in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, the *Anacreon* brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, from which were landed three boats full of men, and a number of officers, among whom was James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the French Directory, and who had attained the rank of general of brigade in the French service. This brig was full of arms and accoutrements, and contained a park of artillery; but when the adventurers found that the people, instead of joining them, fled to the mountains, and that the rebellion in Ireland was entirely suppressed, they re-embarked, after distributing a number of inflammatory papers. Some time afterwards Napper Tandy, and two other Irish rebels, were apprehended by the agents of Great Britain, at *Hamburgh*, and conveyed to Ireland, where Tandy was indicted for high-treason, in the year 1801, when, having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to leave the kingdom, and take up his residence in France.

Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was equally unsuccessful. A squadron from *Brest*, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, with a strong reinforcement, intended to co-operate with the force under General Humbert in Ireland, was fallen in with, on the 11th of October, off the north-western coast of that island, by Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising with seven sail of the line off *Lough Swilly*. The British admiral instantly threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession as each ship of war reached her antagonist; but it was found impossible to commence the action before the next morning, at which time it was discovered that the enemy's large ship had lost her main-topmast. Still confident in

their own strength, the French squadron bore down, and formed a line of battle in close order ; on which an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, when the enemy's three-decker, the *Hoche*, and three of the frigates, hauled down their colours after a gallant resistance : five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig, escaped, but three of the former were afterwards captured. The whole squadron, it appeared, was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Amongst the prisoners taken in the *Hoche* was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, long considered as the most active and able negotiator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting either to deny or to palliate his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic ; but, when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon ; and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court, however, did not judge it proper to accede to his request, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him by cutting his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal, but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. Holt, the last and most intrepid of the rebel chiefs, obtained the boon of his forfeited life, by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the insurrection in Ireland, in which

it is estimated that not less than 30,000 lives were sacrificed, and property was destroyed to an amount of which it is difficult to speak with accuracy; but some idea may be formed from the conflagrations that took place in the different towns, and from the compensation claimed by one class of sufferers. The towns of Carnew, Tinealy, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Kiledmond, were all destroyed by fire; in Ross, about 300 houses, mostly those of the labouring classes, were consumed; the greater part of Enniscorthy was laid in ashes; and in the open country a vast number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats, were destroyed. By a message delivered to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, on the 17th of July, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being duly verified before commissioners; and an act of Parliament soon after passed, under which the claims of the loyalists alone amounted to upwards of 1,000,000*l.* a sum of great magnitude, but, it is supposed, not equal to more than one-third of the entire property destroyed by a rebellion, in support of which it is believed that 70,000 men were at one time in arms.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Hostile movements of the French against Switzerland—They enter Berne, after several contests—New constitution—Ineffectual resistance of the Underwaldens—Revolution at Rome, and subversion of the papal government—Grand expedition to Egypt under Buonaparte—Malta taken—Alexandria and Rosetta subdued—Severe engagements with the Mamelukes—Cairo taken—Victory of the Nile—New coalition against the French—Turkey, Russia, and Naples, severally declare war against France—The Neapolitan troops, after advancing to Rome, signally defeated, and Ferdinand IV. compelled to quit the Continent—Abdication of the King of Sardinia—Disputes between France and America—Expedition against Ostend—Capture of Minorca—Evacuation of St. Domingo—Meeting of Parliament—Address—Habeas Corpus suspension continued—Finance—Income tax first imposed—Union with Ireland proposed—Proceedings thereon—Slave trade—Parliament prorogued.

THE present year had been ushered in by the congress of Rastadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire: the Emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of King of Hungary and Bohemia, had acceded to the demands of the Directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz; and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted. However, whilst the French plenipotentiaries were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for

tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, was now condemned to experience all the horrors of hostility. Towards the end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French Directory on the Swiss cantons, under some alleged pretexts of insults or injuries, and the government of Berne, in particular, was accused of having publicly enrolled emigrants, and given shelter to French deserters. The Helvetic diet, assembled at Arau, showed an intention of resistance, by ordering a levy of 26,000 men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of Colonel de Weiss, was sent, on the 14th of January, 1798, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object the establishment of a democratic government. As soon as the French executive learned that Berne and Friburg had despatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, a division of French troops just returned from Italy was put in motion, and General Menard appeared upon the Genevan frontier. The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the Republic of Lemman: the cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, followed their example; but the senates of Berne and Friburg persisted in maintaining their ancient form of government.

The management of the war being confided to the French General Brune, he entered the territories of Berne on the 25th of January, and published a proclamation, containing professions which appear to have been made only to be violated. Some unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a truce; but a body of the invaders, having advanced against the castle of Dornach, seized that little fortress, while 13,000 troops summoned Soleure, which immedi-

ately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune, having advanced at the head of a column, took it by assault, and on the 5th of March, after several well contested actions, the French army entered Berne. The ruling families were immediately displaced, the nature of the government was changed, the most respectable of the senators were sent into exile, and, although the French professed to come in the character of protectors and deliverers, the treasures of the state were confiscated, and large military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army. The Directory, determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, resolved to change the government from the federal into an united republic, which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be kept in continual dependence. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, hoping to obtain an ascendancy in the government, hastened to carry into effect the wishes of the Directory by choosing a legislature, and Arau was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations: but the smaller states of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the government of their fathers, which had for ages guaranteed their liberty and secured their happiness, refused to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognise its authority. Having appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne, and menaced Zurich; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one great national effort to expel the invaders, they retired to the fortresses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug. The French, now commanded by General Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them, and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates,

perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers trained to the art of war, feigning to retreat, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, and defeated them with great loss. A treaty ensued, in which, though it was agreed to accept the new constitution as a bond of general union, an express stipulation was entered into that the internal government of the smaller cantons should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from all contribution; but in this arrangement Underwalden refused to acquiesce on any conditions whatever. The inhabitants of this canton, assembling their entire force, encountered a vastly superior body of French invaders on the 8th of September, and, after a most memorable battle, continued, with little intermission, to the evening of the 9th, (during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to muskets and bayonets, and fragments from the rocks to a regular artillery,) the gallant mountaineers were overcome; the town of Standtz taken by assault; the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire; the inhabitants nearly exterminated; and neither age nor sex spared by a furious soldiery. All Switzerland now subscribed to the new constitution; Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government; and an alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the French and Helvetic republics: the French Directory, however, still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions to an enormous extent.

During the course of these events the seeds of a revolution were ripening at Rome, the same thirst of dominion prompting the French to erect the territories of the Pope into a commonwealth dependent on their power. On the 28th of December, 1797, a mob, consisting of about 100 persons, assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France;

for the purpose of overthrowing what they termed the papal tyranny, and establishing a republic in its stead. The ambassador despatched General Duphot to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of his court; but in the affray he was shot by a Roman fusileer, and Joseph Buonaparte retired into Tuscany. This outrage, for which every possible satisfaction was offered, afforded a pretext for sending General Berthier to Rome with a large body of troops; and on the 11th of February, 1798, the castle of St. Angelo, containing the Pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons. The inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman Forum, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. All the splendour and magnificence of which the Catholic worship is susceptible were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and, while the dome of St. Peter's was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were fated soon after to abdicate, presided at a solemn *Te Deum* within the walls of that superb temple. The deposed Pontiff was conveyed, by order of the Directory, first to Briançon, and afterwards to Valence, in France, where he terminated his existence, on the 29th of August, 1799, in the 82d year of his age, and the 24th of his pontificate.

Of the generals employed by the *great* nation, as it emphatically called itself, Buonaparte had been the most uniformly successful, possessed the most commanding talents, and had acquired the largest

share of popularity ; and to him was confided the conduct of a vast and romantic attempt to effect the subversion of the British empire in the east, the first step towards which, the invasion and occupation of Egypt, he figured to himself as an easy task. The Directory, eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satiated, and by no means indisposed to the removal of a general in whose presence all their power seemed to be eclipsed, consented to this project, although the Sublime Porte had kept its faith with the French republic inviolate ; it being pretended that the purpose of the French was, by chastising the rebellious Beys, to act as friends and allies to the Grand Seignior, whose precarious but acknowledged sovereignty over Egypt yielded an annual tribute to his treasury, and supplied his capital with corn. The ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of military stores ; and, while all Europe was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, General Buona-
parte, accompanied by a few of his chief officers, and a multitude of artists and men of learning, hastened from Paris to the borders of the Mediterranean.

His preparations being complete, he set sail from Toulon on the 20th of May, with a formidable veteran army, and an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and, leaving Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Brueys, who had proceeded from Corfu nearly at the same time. To this officer, who had served with no higher rank than that of lieutenant of the royal navy, was intrusted the command of the fleet, and he now repaired on board the *Orient*, of 120 guns. This

armament, consisting of about 300 sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta on the 9th of June, and at break of day the next morning commenced a general landing of troops and artillery upon the coast, without encountering any very formidable opposition. At the dawn of the succeeding morning the enemy had encircled the city of Valetta, and on the 12th the French entered the city, and became masters of the whole island, this almost impregnable place surrendering with so little resistance as to furnish reason to suspect a previous concert between the captors and the Knights. The Grand Master, Hompesch, who had ranked as a sovereign prince, quitted the island, and received a sum of money at his departure, with an engagement for a pension from the French treasury, no part of which was ever paid. Thus Buonaparte contrived to obtain possession of the island of Malta, containing a population of 60,000 souls, and affording one of the most advantageous stations in the Mediterranean sea; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after possessing them nearly three centuries. Having appointed a provisional government, and intrusted the care of his new acquisition to General Vaubois, the fleet again put to sea, and in the evening of the 30th of June anchored in the roads of Alexandria.

As soon as the French admiral had cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, Buonaparte hastened to disembark his troops, and to prepare for the attack of Alexandria; and on the 5th of July this city, which in the sixth century sustained a siege of fourteen months, and inflicted a loss of 23,000 men upon the besiegers, was carried by assault in a few hours, with the loss only of one colonel, and seventy soldiers, killed and wounded. To strike terror into the inhabitants, and to preclude further resistance, a

dreadful slaughter took place amongst the Mamelukes and the Arabs, after the city had surrendered. General Desaix was now despatched towards Cairo, and Buonaparte, in the mean time, issued orders for the fleet to shelter itself from the enemy in the old port of Alexandria; but on sounding the channel it was found that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient, and the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage. The military stores having all been disembarked, and the chief command conferred on General Kleber, a flotilla was established in the course of a few days on the Nile, and the city of Rosetta, situated at the mouth of the western arm of that river, was subdued. On the 7th of July the main body of the army entered the desert, and, after experiencing the greatest privations from heat and thirst, arrived at Dementour. Allowing themselves only one day's rest, they advanced to Miniet Salame, where intelligence was received that the Beys were encamped in the neighbourhood, and that an armed flotilla had descended the Nile on purpose to attack the invaders. Next morning the Mamelukes, to the number of 4000, were discovered near the village of Chebriesse, situated on the left bank of the river. Here two separate actions immediately took place; the one on the water, and the other on the land. Buonaparte, having advanced to the support of Kleber, formed his army into five squares, with the cavalry and baggage in the centre. Impelled by their natural impetuosity, the Mamelukes commenced the attack, and were suffered to approach within the reach of grape-shot, when the cannon suddenly opened, and forced the main body of the assailants to retreat; but some, bolder than the rest, continued to advance, and met their fate either at the muzzle of the musket or the point of the bayonet.

Immediately on this defeat of the land forces, the

village of Chebriesse was carried by assault, and the flotilla belonging to the Beys retired, after a desperate action, in which 600 were killed on the side of the vanquished, and only seventy on that of the victors. The French troops, pursuing their victorious career, advanced through the deserted villages to Ernbabé, where, on the 20th of July, they beheld, towards the left, those famous pyramids which had braved the storms of 3000 years, and in front about 6000 Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, intrenched in the plain. Buonaparte, after making the same dispositions as at Chebriesse, gave orders for a charge ; and the Mamelukes, after an unsuccessful attempt to break their way through a rampart of bayonets, fell back in disorder, and left the field of battle in possession of the enemy. General Dugua, availing himself of the retreat of the native troops, advanced against the village, while two divisions, under Generals Rampon and Marmont, were detached towards the rear, and carried the intrenchments in the face of a masked battery of forty pieces of artillery. A body of Mamelukes and Fellahs, amounting to 1500, perceiving their retreat cut off by this movement, took post behind a ditch, where they defended themselves with great bravery, but every man was either killed by the sword or drowned in the Nile. Murad Bey, who commanded on this occasion, being forced to retreat, left behind him 400 camels, his artillery, baggage, and provisions ; and the victors, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, found all the purses of the vanquished Mamelukes well stored with gold. This decisive victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed, and about thirty wounded, opened the gates of Cairo to the invaders : the chief inhabitants, hastening to the camp of Buonaparte, solicited his protection ; while the fortunate chieftain seized on this opportunity to visit the pyramids, and

prophesied that his exploits would not be forgotten at the end of forty centuries.

Having conciliated the confidence of the sheiks and the principal families, by proclamations in which he distinctly professed himself a Mahometan, asserting that he revered, more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran, and having organized a provisional government, Buonaparte marched against Murad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey, taking a contrary direction, fled towards Syria.

The object of Buonaparte's expedition appears to have been altogether unknown in England at the time of its sailing; but instructions were in consequence sent to Earl St. Vincent, then stationed off Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line-of-battle ships to defeat his armament, whatever might be its destination; and a detachment of ten sail of the line, under Captain Troubridge, was ordered to join Sir Horatio Nelson, who had been despatched to the Mediterranean with a flying squadron. Rear-admiral Nelson, thus invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, steered his course towards Malta, and arrived off that island on the 22d of June, when he found that the enemy had quitted that place five days before, taking an eastward direction. Conjecturing that Egypt must be the place of their destination, he sailed for the port of Alexandria, where he arrived on the 28th; but, as they had not been seen on that coast, he shaped his course northward for Caramania, and thence returned to Sicily. After obtaining supplies in the bay of Syracuse, he once more sailed for Alexandria, and, on the 1st of August, discovered the enemy's fleet, moored in a strong and compact line, in the bay of Aboukir, the headmost vessel being

close to the shoals on the N. W. and the rest forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned on the S. W. The advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French ; they had thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, carrying 1190 guns, and 10,810 men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying in all 1012 guns, and 8068 men. The English ships of the line were all seventy-fours ; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of 120 guns ; and the enemy's squadron was, in the opinion of the French commissary of the fleet, moored in such a situation as to bid defiance to double their force. Nelson decided for an immediate attack, and at six o'clock in the evening of the 1st of August the engagement commenced.

Captain Foley, who led the British van in the *Goliath*, darted ahead of the enemy's foremost ship, *Le Guerrier*, doubled her larboard side, and, having poured a destructive fire into the Frenchman, moved on to the *Conquerant*, whom he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts : next followed the *Zealous*, Captain Hood, which attacked the *Guerrier* on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her : the *Orion*, Sir James Saumarez, took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships : the *Theseus*, Captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the third ship of the enemy : the *Audacious*, Captain Gould, moved round to the fifth : then advanced the *Vanguard*, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic Captain, Berry, and anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colours flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away. Having veered half a cable, he instantly opened a tremendous fire ; under cover of which the other four ships of his division,

the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the *Vanguard*'s deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the destructive fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served these guns. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, nobly supported his commander, and, anchoring next ahead of the *Vanguard*, took off the fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the French line. The *Defence*, Captain Peyton, took her station ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the *Franklin*, of eighty guns, the sixth ship of the enemy, which bore the flag of Admiral Blanquet de Chelard, the second in command. Thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed as to bear their force upon six of the enemy. The seventh of the French line was the *Orient*, the admiral's ship, a vessel of immense size, bearing 120 guns: this stupendous adversary was undertaken by the *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby; while the *Majestic*, Captain Westcott, who engaged the *Heureux*, the ninth ship of the starboard bow, received also at the same time the fire of the *Tonnant*, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previously to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced, and the shades of night began to close in upon them before they reached the scene of action. Captain Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, took the lead of these ships; but the increased darkness having greatly augmented the difficulties of the navigation, that vessel suddenly grounded on a shoal, and could not be got off in time to share in the danger and the glory of the action. It was, however, some satisfaction to Captain Troubridge, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which

would otherwise have gone considerably further on the reef, and have been inevitably lost. These ships took their stations in a manner that commanded general admiration; and at this juncture the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient*, her lights extinguished, nearly 200 of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line towards the lee side of the bay, when the *Swiftsure*, which at first mistook her for a ship of the enemy, but was soon undeceived, came up, and, taking her station, opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin*, and the bows of the French admiral. At the same instant, Captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and, anchoring within side of his larboard quarter, raked him, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander*, Captain Thompson, who took his station in such a position as to rake both the *Franklin* and the *Orient*.

The conflict was now carried on in the darkness of the night, and the only light to guide the operations of the fleets was derived from the flashes of their cannon. The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action, and others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain—its extent was the only remaining question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy, were taken possession of at half past eight. While the battle raged with its utmost fury, the British admiral received a wound in the head from a piece of langridge shot, which cut a large flap of the skin of the forehead from the bone, and, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound would be mortal: Nelson

himself thought so, and desired his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to Lady Nelson ; but the surgeon, on examining the wound, pronounced it to be merely superficial. The French Admiral Brueys, who sustained the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and had been three times wounded during the engagement without quitting his station, now received a shot which almost cut him in two : still he remained upon the deck, and this hero, so well worthy of a better fate, survived his last wound only a quarter of an hour. Soon after nine o'clock the *Orient* struck her colours, and appeared in flames, which spread with astonishing rapidity, and by the prodigious light of which the situation of the two fleets could be distinctly seen from the towers of Rosetta, a distance of thirty miles. About ten o'clock the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was succeeded by a silence not less awful. The firing instantly ceased on both sides, and the first sound which broke the portentous stillness was the dash of shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been cast by the explosion. Only about seventy of the crew could be saved by the English boats. The *Orient* had on board money to the amount of 600,000*l*.

After a lapse of about ten minutes the fire recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock the next morning. It then grew very faint till about five, when it was resumed with redoubled fury ; but it was, on the enemy's part, the resistance, not of hope, but of despair. At day-break, the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Genereux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying, and in the forenoon they cut their cables and stood out to sea, taking along with them two frigates. The

Zealous, worthy of her name, instantly commenced the pursuit, but, as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it entirely ceased.

Thus ended an engagement which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished achievements in naval annals. The result was, that, out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon*, of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty-gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British admiral, that, had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the harbour would have shared the fate of the ships of the line. This deficiency of frigates he deeply regretted, and, in his usual forcible way of expressing himself, said—"Should I die at the present moment, *want of frigates* would be found written on my heart." The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to 895. Of the French, 3105, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and 5225 perished!—constituting a loss, during that glorious, but fatal night, of upwards of 500 human beings an hour! One British officer of the rank of captain only fell; this was the brave Captain Westcott, who was killed early in the action.

During the conflict thousands of the worshippers of Mahomet lined the shores of Egypt, and for three successive nights the coast and adjacent country were illuminated in honour of the victory. Throughout England it was celebrated with every mark of rejoicing. His Majesty conferred the dignity of Baron, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year, on the admiral, who was called to the House of Peers by the style and dignity of Baron Nelson of the Nile. The Grand Seignior also transmitted a superb diamond

chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans; and the King of Naples, at a later period, granted the title of Duke of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish Sultan sent a purse of 2000 sequins to be distributed amongst the wounded, and the English nation raised, by public subscription, a considerable sum for the widows and children of those who fell in the action.

The sensation of this victory was felt over all Europe, and even to the distant shores of India; but at Rastadt the effect became the most evident. The deputation of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities, by means of which forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the expedition of Buonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition he had there encountered, and the recent disaster of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the Continent unavoidable. At this juncture too, and partly from the same causes, the Turks declared war against France; and Russia became an efficient member of the new coalition preparing against the French nation, the co-operation of the Emperor Paul being secured by a subsidy, stipulated in a treaty concluded in December between him and the King of Great Britain, wherein each party engaged not to make a peace or armistice without including the other. This alliance was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the King of Naples, who, after issuing a declaration of war against the republic on the 22d of November, put his army in motion against the French on the 23d of that month, and on the 29th succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital. This success, however, was

of short duration; for on the 15th of December the Neapolitan troops sustained a signal defeat at Civita Castellana, and this disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome. After a series of defeats, during a continued retreat, Ferdinand IV. was obliged, on the last day of the year, to abdicate all his continental dominions, and to take refuge on board an English man of war.

The King of Sardinia, though entirely at the mercy of the French, was accused of leaguings with the Neapolitans, and his overthrow was no difficult achievement. From the time of the formation of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, an insurrectionary spirit had existed against his government, which obliged him to solicit the interposition of France, and his kingdom was for a time secured to him, on condition that the citadel of Turin should be confided to the care of a French garrison; which was complied with in the beginning of July. The easy conquest of Piedmont being thus secured, the King, in the month of December, signed an act of abdication, and withdrew to the island of Sardinia. Under French influence, also, some revolutionary changes were effected in the government of Holland, which had hitherto been left, in a great measure, to take care of its own concerns; and in the month of August a new directorial government was completely organized. In the beginning of October a violent insurrection broke out in the Belgian provinces, lately united to France, which pervaded five departments, and was not quelled without much bloodshed.

The haughtiness and disregard of national rights which now characterized the proceedings of the French government were near involving it in a quarrel with the United States of America. Deputies having been sent to France, for the purpose of accommodating subsisting differences, they were

treated with so much arrogance, and demands were advanced so unjust in their nature, that a law was enacted by Congress to break off every commercial relation with France and its dependencies, and to forbid the entrance of French vessels into the American ports. The effect of these and other hostile measures was softened by the arrival of a secret agent at Paris, and the negotiations were afterwards openly renewed under more favourable circumstances.

In the spring of this year an expedition was fitted out in England against Maritime Flanders, for the express purpose of blowing up the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which transport-schuyts, instead of risking a sea voyage, were enabled to keep up an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. An armament accordingly sailed for the purpose, from Margate Roads, on the 18th of May, under Captain Popham, with a body of troops, consisting of 1200 men, commanded by Major-general Coote. Having landed on the following day without opposition, they proceeded to burn several boats, demolish the sluice-gates, and effect a grand explosion, by which it was intended to destroy a great national work, which had cost the States of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had not been completed with a labour of five years. Thus having, as was supposed, rendered the Bruges canal unserviceable, the commander-in-chief attempted about noon to return on board the shipping, but the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, as to render it impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand-hills, at a little distance from the beach, and, by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for

the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning; and, all resistance being in vain, they surrendered, after a gallant defence, in the course of which the Major-general was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured, without effect, to obtain an exchange of prisoners; and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the British troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had destroyed, but it was found on inspection that the damage was but trifling.

In the month of November a small armament was despatched against Minorca, under the command of Admiral Duckworth and General Stuart, and a descent was made near the creek of Addaya. As the invaders had few of the requisites of a siege, their adversaries might, with a small share of spirit, have made a considerable resistance: intimidated, however, by the movements of the troops, and the appearance of the squadron, the garrison capitulated on the 15th of November, and the whole island was reduced without the loss of a single man. About the same time the isle of Goza, near Malta, capitulated to a detachment of Admiral Nelson's squadron.

In St. Domingo, however, the English were unable to extend their acquisitions; and the fury of disease made such alarming havoc among them, that at length Major-general Maitland was instructed to surrender Port-au-Prince and St. Marc to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro commander, who had nearly annihilated the dominion of the French in the island; and in the course of the year they evacuated every other post. Such were the chequered scenes of the campaign of 1798; but the balance of victory, of disinterested policy, and of success in arms, (the affairs of Egypt taken into the scale), certainly preponderated in favour of England.

On the meeting of Parliament, on the 20th of November, the speech from the throne spoke, with just exultation, of the late splendid triumphs of our navy under Lord Nelson, which had turned an extravagant enterprise to the confusion of its authors, and afforded an opening which might lead to the general deliverance of Europe. The wisdom and magnanimity displayed by the Emperor of Russia, with the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, were mentioned as examples to encourage other states in adopting a line of conduct which experience had shown to be alone consistent with security and honour. The address, moved in the Lords by Earl Darnley, and seconded by Lord Craven, was animadverted upon by the Marquis of Lansdown, who exhorted ministers to draw from these victories, so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of obtaining that most desirable of all objects—a safe and honourable peace. The question upon the address, however, was carried in both Houses without a division. On the 11th of December Mr. Tierney moved, in the Commons, “that it is the duty of his Majesty’s ministers to advise him not to enter into any alliance with foreign powers that may hinder his Majesty from negotiating a peace with France whenever she may be disposed to enter upon a fair and equitable negotiation.” This motion was negatived. The renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was the next measure of importance that came under discussion; and it was agreed, by both Houses, that the Suspension should continue till the 21st of May, 1799, though opposed as a measure of which the necessity had ceased.

The great and continually increasing expense of the war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session of Parliament, to bring forward, for the sanction of the House, a new system of finance,

the principle of which was to raise within the year a large proportion of the necessary supplies, which, aided by the operation of the sinking fund, should prevent any material addition being made to the public debt. The tax proposed for this purpose, called the Triple Assessment Tax, was, however, found so inadequate to the object, that the minister determined to substitute in its stead a tax on income. Accordingly, on the 3d of December, the House having formed itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt stated that the supplies which would be necessary for the service of the present year amounted to about 30,000,000*l.* towards which the usual ways and means would produce 6,100,000*l.* It remained then to be considered in what way the deficiency should be raised. Here two leading principles occurred for the guidance of the House—either to raise the whole by loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year upon the principle adopted in the last session of Parliament. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. The commissioners, who should be vested with the power of determining upon the rate of every one's income, should be persons of respectable situations in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; and, in case the party was dissatisfied with their decision, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. The next point for consideration was the mode of contribution that should be adopted. Under this head it was his intention to propose that no income under 60*l.* a year should be called upon to contribute, and that the scale of modification, up to 200*l.* a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restrictions. The quota which should then be called for should amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income.

The returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before the commissioners such grounds of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. The party, however, should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined; but, if he declined to submit to such investigation, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment, and their decision should be final. The national income, after deducting one-fifth for modifications, he calculated at 102,000,000*l.* on which amount a tax of ten *per cent* would produce 10,000,000*l.* a year.

Mr. Tierney contended, that, by this bold measure, a tenth part of the property of England was put in requisition—a measure which the French had followed in their career of revolutionary rapine, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer first condemned, and then imitated; and, as a prelude to the project, a general disclosure of property must take place. The scale of taxation was also manifestly inadequate and unjust. If it were right that the scale should rise from 60*l.* to 200*l.* *per annum*, why should it not continue to rise from 200*l.* upwards? The man of 200*l.* *per annum* would be deprived of a part of the comforts he possessed, while the man of 20,000*l.* *per annum* would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxuries. He asked whether a person possessing an income of a certain sum only for a time, and another of the same income derived from the interest of his own capital, were equally rich, and could bear the same taxes? He could hardly have supposed that what was said against adding perpetual taxes and increasing the capital of debt, instead of raising large supplies within the year to prevent the accumulation of the debt, came

from the same man who had increased continually, for the last five years, the permanent taxes; who had in that time also added 150,000,000*l.* to the capital of the national debt. Upon his conscience he believed it was by peace only that the British empire could be secured.

The bill having been committed, and the report brought up, Sir Francis Baring affirmed, that, under the veil of secrecy which covered the commercial returns, the bill would be evaded, and frauds committed beyond any thing it was possible to conceive. But, supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise. Mr. William Smith declared his decided approbation of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, which could alone preserve the public finances from impending ruin; but the provisions of this bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. By what criterion could it be adjudged fair and honest to tax, in an equal degree, industry and indolence? A stock-holder, who received 500*l.* per annum from his capital in the funds, and a shopkeeper of small property, who by active exertions made the same sum in his business, were similarly rated! Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities, which expire in five years, were, by this sweeping and indiscriminate mode of taxation, placed precisely upon a level. Mr. Pitt, in reply, observed that an honourable gentleman had said, that if two persons had each 500*l.* *per annum*, one of whom derived his income from land, and the other from industry, they ought not both to be taxed equally at 50*l.*: but to complain of this inequality was to complain of the distribution of property; it was to complain of the constitution of society. The consequence of this tax would be to all alike; and whoever contributed a tenth of his

income, under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The House then divided: for the further consideration of the report, 183; against it, 17; majority, 166. After undergoing several amendments, the bill was passed into a law on the 18th of March, 1799, and the 5th of April was fixed as the time for making the returns. The remaining supplies were to be made up from the new imposts on sugar, coffee, and stamps, aided by the recently imposed convoy-tax. About 250,000 land forces, of different descriptions, and 120,000 seamen and marines, were also voted. A bill to enlarge the time prescribed by an act of the last session, for the redemption of the land-tax, and to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and the property devised for lives and for long terms, was also carried into a law.

On the 22d of January the following important message was delivered by Mr. Secretary Dundas: "His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament; and his Majesty recommends it to this House to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in a manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire." This message was taken into discussion on the following day, when Mr. Dundas moved an address, importing that the House would proceed, with all due despatch, to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention. Mr. Sheridan

declared that he was perfectly ready, on this occasion, to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said that the object of this message was evidently an Union, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to this design; and, if it were carried, it would be an union effected by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. Before the recommendation contained in the message was attended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to show that the last pledge of the English Parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognised and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the Parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. And he concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address proposed, that the House, for the first time, learned from his Majesty, with surprise and deep regret, that the final adjustment, which, upon his Majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement: and, further, humbly to express to his Majesty, that his faithful Commons had strong reasons to believe that it was in the contemplation of his Majesty's ministers to propose an union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his Majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that a permanent connexion between Britain and Ireland was essential to the true interests of both countries,

and that, unless the existing connexion should be improved, there was, he had strong reason to believe, great risk of a separation. After a debate of some length, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried.

The same day on which the message on the Union was delivered to the British senate, the session of the Irish Parliament commenced at Dublin; and a speech on this occasion was made by the Lord-Lieutenant, which concluded with a hope that the Parliaments in both kingdoms would be disposed to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security; and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire. The address in the House of Peers was opposed chiefly by the Lords Powerscourt and Bellamont, who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last 35 to 17, in favour of the court. But in the House of Commons, after a debate of twenty hours, the contest was so close, that only a majority of one appeared against the amendment; the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105; and, when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favour only 107 against 105 voices. The address was reported two days afterwards, when Sir Lawrence Parsons strenuously opposed its being received, and, after a violent debate, his motion was carried by a majority of 111 to 106 voices. The exultation of the Irish metropolis at this defeat of the ministry was unbounded: the Unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of attack; and the chief speaker of Opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity.

The vehement enthusiasm of the capital, nevertheless, did not extend to the nation at large ; the weight of the landed interest was in favour of the measure ; and Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it.

On the 31st of January the subject was again brought under consideration by Mr. Pitt, who said that, when he proposed to the House to fix that day for the further consideration of his Majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the Parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation : he had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons. He admitted that the Parliament of Ireland possessed the power to accept or reject a proposition of this nature ; a power which he by no means meant to dispute ; but he felt it his duty to express his general outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to ensure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should Parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals, leaving the rejection or adoption of the plan to the future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions ; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland : yet, could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from it ? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were only to

be supplied by blending more closely with that country the industry and capital of this. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the Catholics without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed a series of resolutions, and moved that the House resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same.

The plan proposed that the two islands should be united into one kingdom, by the name of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" that the succession to the crown should be limited and settled as at present; that the united kingdom should be represented in one and the same Parliament, and that such a number of lords and commons as shall be hereafter agreed upon shall sit and vote on the part of Ireland; that the churches of England and Ireland be preserved as now by law established; that the King's subjects in Ireland be entitled to the same privileges, in respect of trade and navigation, with those of Great Britain, subject to certain regulations, to be agreed upon previously to the Union, and regulated from time to time by the united Parliament; that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective Parliaments previously to the Union; and that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil

or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances appear to the Parliament of the united kingdom to require.

Mr. Sheridan again avowed his utter disapprobation of the measure, and stated his intention of moving two resolutions, declaring that no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity which had not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the Parliaments of the two countries; and that whoever should endeavour to obtain such approbation, by employing the influence of government, was an enemy to his Majesty and the constitution. The House divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes, 140, noes 15; and, after some further debates on the subject, Mr. Pitt's resolutions were carried by large majorities. On the 14th of February the report of the committee was brought up, when it was ordered that a message be sent to the Lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connexion between the two kingdoms.

The subject had previously been introduced into the House of Peers by a message from the King, delivered by Lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the House, which then adjourned. From this period the business remained dormant in the Upper House till the 18th of February, when the message from the Commons was delivered by Earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the Painted Chamber, the Lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions moved by the House of Commons. On the 19th of March, their lordships having been summoned, Lord Grenville moved

that the House do agree with the same ; and this motion, though strenuously opposed, was agreed to without a division.

On the 11th of April, the House having been again summoned, Lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, which was also carried without a division ; but a protest was signed against it by the Lords Holland, Thanet, and King. A committee was then named, consisting of Lord Grenville, Lord Minto, Lord Auckland, and the Bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address conformable to the motion ; which having been effected, the Commons, in a second conference on the following day, were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his Majesty as the address of both Houses of Parliament, which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner.

In Ireland the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the 1st of August. It was, however, manifest that the court were determined to persevere ; and the Lord-Lieutenant, on the termination of the session, announced that a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his Majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland : and he further declared that his Majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

Mr. Wilberforce's annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade had in this session to encounter an additional opposition, arising from the existence of a negro army in St. Domingo, and the efforts made to propagate democratical principles through

the West India islands. It was consequently negatived by a majority of 84 to 54.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July, 1799, when his Majesty was pleased to declare that the decision and energy which distinguished the councils of his ally, the Emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means intrusted to him by Parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe. On this occasion he also expressed his satisfaction in seeing that internal tranquillity was in some degree restored to Ireland, the ultimate security of which could alone be ensured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Affairs of Egypt—Capture of Jaffa—Siege of Acre—Gallant defence—The French raise the siege and return from Syria to Egypt—Tippoo, at the instigation of Buonaparte, concert measures against the India Company, who declare war in consequence—Seringapatam taken by General Harris; death of Tippoo—Partition of the Mysore territory—Buonaparte defeats a Turkish army in Egypt—Returns to France—Naples proclaimed a republic—The Austrian and French forces take the field—Encounters on the right bank of the Rhine—Campaign in Italy and Switzerland—Retreat of the Russians under Suworow—Expedition to North Holland—Capture of Surinam—Party contentions in France—The Directory overthrown, and Buonaparte nominated First Consul—He proposes a negotiation for peace, which is rejected by the British government—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on Buonaparte's pacific overture—Subsidiary treaties—Mr. Tierney's motion against the war—Motions for inquiry into the expedition to Holland—Finance—Subsidy to the Emperor—Habeas Corpus suspension continued—Union with Ireland completed—Scarcity of corn—Attempt on the King's life.

AFTER the signal defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, by which Buonaparte was separated from France, he exerted himself to secure the affection of the Egyptians by flattering their religious prejudices; by recalling their ancient greatness, and asserting that he wished to restore them to their pristine grandeur; by professions of regard for his ally, the emperor at Constantinople; and by pre-

tending that the invasion of Egypt, and the expulsion of the Beys, were measures which merited or had obtained his assent. Aided by the artists who accompanied the expedition, he formed a national academy, and a great establishment for the different mechanical arts; he assembled the sheicks from different provinces, and submitted to their deliberations certain objects of political economy; and, at a festival of the anniversary of the institution of the French republic, he introduced military evolutions, horse and foot races, fire-works, and other Parisian amusements. These arts, however, failed to produce the desired effect, and his arms alone could ensure the obedience which he courted, or avert the danger which he dreaded. An insurrection at Cairo had nearly proved fatal to his cause; and some hundreds of the French, including General Dupuis, their commander, were killed before it could be suppressed: a much larger number of the insurgents of course perished, and not a few afterwards fell by the hands of the executioner; for Buonaparte, wherever he went, treated all who opposed him as traitors and rebels. Various skirmishes and some sharp actions took place between the invaders and the Mamelukes, under the command of the Beys, in different parts of the country, particularly in Upper Egypt, in all of which the superior discipline and tactics of the French baffled the rude courage and desultory attacks of their opponents. It could not, however, be supposed that the Porte would leave them in quiet possession of a portion of her territory, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from their hands: Buonaparte was aware that if an army was sent from Europe to attack him on one side, while a Turkish force from Asia assailed him on the other, he might not be able to extricate himself from the difficulties with which he would be surrounded, and he therefore resolved to attack the Turks in the first

instance, in the hopes of subduing them before they could receive assistance from other quarters. He accordingly made preparations for an expedition against Acre, and sent his train of artillery, destined for the siege, by sea. The army, in four divisions, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes, proceeded to El-Arisch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They then advanced into the fertile plains of Gaza, and, having met with little opposition, moved forward to Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, a seaport town on the coast of Palestine, which was carried by assault, with great loss, after a vigorous defence. Numbers of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part having taken refuge in the mosques, and implored mercy from the French, their lives were spared.

The atrocities stated to have been committed by order of Buonaparte, immediately after the capture of Jaffa, although confidently asserted by highly respectable authorities, are so totally unparalleled in the history of modern warfare, that it is difficult to give credit to the recital. Being encumbered with nearly 4000 prisoners, from the care and maintenance of which, it is said, Buonaparte found it necessary to relieve himself, he ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where volleys of musketry and grape-shot were played upon them by a division of French infantry, and such of the Turks as were not killed by the shot were put to death with the bayonet. The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague, by which a great number of the French soldiers were soon infected, the hospitals crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this crisis Buonaparte found an apothecary who consented to administer poison to the sick. A sufficient quantity of opium was accordingly mixed with pleasant food, of which the

unsuspecting victims freely partook ; and in a few hours 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for the tyrants of their country, thus miserably perished. Sir Robert Wilson, Dr. Wittman, Mr. Morier, and others, have stated these occurrences as facts ; and, although they are difficult to be believed, it is equally difficult to conceive that they can be totally without foundation. Sir Robert afterwards declared his belief that he had been imposed upon, although his information was gained upon the spot ; but this declaration was not made till he became an active member of the House of Commons.

At Jaffa, as at all other places of importance in his route, Buonaparte constituted a divan of the principal inhabitants in the French interest ; and, after appointing Adjutant-general Gressier to the command of the place, he marched at the head of his troops for Acre, which at this moment contained within its walls two men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a British naval officer of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux accompanied him in a small squadron to which he had been appointed, and, after cruising with him in the Levant, had embarked for Syria to afford assistance to the Pacha. On the 19th of March, 1799, it was determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the eastward ; on the 30th the trenches were opened, about 150 fathoms from the wall ; and on the 1st of April the enemy advanced to storm the fortress. It was soon discovered, however, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched ; and the breach, which was not large, had

been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles a body of grenadiers descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but the only effect produced by the late explosion being a small opening in the glacis, nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran towards the harbour; but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutants-general, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the Pacha, that on the 5th they made another sally, in which they killed several of the besiegers. In the interim the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre, seven of which, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city, no intelligence having been received by the French army of the three frigates which had sailed from Alexandria for Jaffa. At this period of the siege Ghezzar Oglou, the Pacha, dispersed his firmauns among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and overwhelm the infidels. The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoxial gales, had no sooner resumed its station than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, undertaken on the 7th, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on

the right and left. The sally took place on the morning of the 7th, just before daylight ; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state.

All the neighbouring districts were now in arms, and the Samaritan Arabs evinced so much daring as to make incursions even into the French camp. Under these circumstances Buonaparte proceeded against them in person ; and on the 16th he found Kleber's division, consisting of 2000 Frenchmen, who had previously been detached as a corps of observation, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by a large body of horse, which he obliged to retire behind the mount, where a great number were drowned in the river Jordan.

Buonaparte hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and the invaders at length beheld the completion of the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts ; but, although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before. About this period the garrison sustained a great loss in that of Phillippeaux, who died of a fever, contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertion. On the 1st of May, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made ; but the Tigre, moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flanked the town walls ; and the gun-boats, launches, and other row-boats, continued to flank the enemy's trenches to their great annoyance, till at length they were obliged to desist from the attack. Notwithstanding their various repulses the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success,

and, up to the 9th of May, had made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back. The garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterwards directed to proceed to the relief of Acre; it was not, however, till the 51st day of the siege that this fleet made its appearance. The approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a vigorous assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark; and on the night of the 8th of May he succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower. Daylight on the 9th showed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle; and at this most critical point of the contest Hassan Bey's troops were still in their boats, not having advanced more than half-way towards the shore. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, landed the boats on the mole, and, placing himself at the head of the crew, marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and besiegers served as a breast-work for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Ghez-zar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands. This energetic old man, coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, "if any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost." The whole of the reinforcements being now landed, the Pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of 1000 men, into the garden of his seraglio, from whence a

vigorous sally was made with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench; but the Turks, unequal to such a movement, were driven back into the town with loss; and, although the sortie did not succeed, it had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand-grenades, dislodged them from the tower. Determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. At the suggestion of the Pacha the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon according to the Turkish mode of war, when a sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets, the survivors hastened to sound a retreat. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermission for five-and-twenty hours; and in which nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded repose.

As the capture of Acre became dubious, chagrin began to be visible in the conduct of Buonaparte, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded with spectators, awaiting the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. The plague also found its way into the French camp, and 700 men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation the French commander-in-chief determined to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of

their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made on the night of the 10th of May by the Turks, who succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel, and advanced to the second trench; but after a conflict of three hours they were driven back, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was considerable on both sides.

Determined, at length, to raise the siege, Buonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded to be sent away, and, to keep the besieged in check, increased the fire of his cannon and mortars. Ghezzar, remarking these dispositions for retreat, made frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigour. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible, the ditches and the reverses of the parapets were filled with the slain; the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead remained unanswered. After sixty days' continuance, Buonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach in the season of landing against the force assembled at Rhodes. On the 20th of May, the very day on which the army began its march, General Le Grange repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march; Regnier's evacuated the trenches; Kleber formed a strong rear-guard; whilst Junot covered the left flank. Buonaparte threw into the sea the heavy artillery, which he could not carry back through the desert; and his battering train, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English. After blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, the French passed over the desert, and were received by the

inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors. Thus terminated the campaign of Syria.

Buonaparte's attention, after his arrival in Egypt, had been directed to the accomplishment of one essential part of his project, the establishment of a communication and concert with Tippoo Sultan, for the purpose of extirpating the English from their Oriental settlements. He apprized Tippoo of his arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, and requested him to send some confidential person with whom he might confer on the subject of their mutual plans. This sovereign, who ill brooked the retrenchment of his power and dominion consequent on his last war with the Company, had established a close intercourse with Zemaun Shah, a native prince of great power and influence, in order to concert such a formidable attack upon the English, as, it was hoped, they would be unable to resist: the vigilance, however, of the governor-general, the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, was eminently calculated to meet the danger. Having assembled an adequate force, he communicated to Tippoo the knowledge which he had acquired of his hostile designs, and offered, if he would forego those projects, to send an officer to treat with him for the establishment and preservation of a friendly intercourse between him and the British government. The Sultan sent an equivocal answer to this communication, and sought to elude the vigilance of the English policy; but Lord Mornington did not suffer the least abatement of the spirit of naval or military preparation, and at the commencement of the year 1799 he ordered the British army to take the field. It was commanded in chief by Lieutenant-general Harris, who, after a series of successful operations, set himself down before the capital of Tippoo's dominions at the latter end of April; and on the 4th of May, a practical breach having been effected,

Seringapatam was taken by assault. Tippoo himself, and several of his chiefs, perished in the action.

The East India Company obtained additional territory by this conquest; other parts were allotted to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and the remaining portion of the Mysore was conferred on a descendant of the ancient Rajahs, who had been dispossessed by Hyder. The British dominion in the east, by annihilating the most dangerous of all the native powers, was now established on a permanent foundation; and the French Directory had the mortification of being not only foiled in one of their greatest attempts, but of witnessing the utter extinction of those means and resources by which they hoped to accomplish it.

After the return of Buonaparte from Syria to Egypt, the Turkish force made a vain attempt to recover that country from the French. The undisciplined Mussulmans were, after an obstinate action near Aboukir, defeated with great loss on the 25th of July, and compelled to retire. Buonaparte, however, ruminating on his repulse at Acre, where he had, for the first time, experienced defeat and disgrace—and fearful that he might not always be successful in imposing on his followers, whom he had persuaded, on the present occasion, that his expedition had answered every purpose for which it was undertaken, and had covered the army with glory—resolved to repair to a country more congenial with his disposition and pursuits. This resolution to abandon his post, and to desert those gallant men who had braved every danger at his command, was only equalled by the mode in which it was accomplished. Leaving a sealed packet addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army in Egypt during his absence, he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accom-

panied by Monge, Beutholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian Institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. He communicated his design to none but those whom he intended to accompany him; and he left the army in a deplorable state. He was a deserter too, in every sense of the word; for he quitted his command without orders, and even without permission. That singular good fortune, however, to which he was so often indebted, attended him on this occasion; for, after repeatedly escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed, first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus; and on his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the Directory to a grand festival, during which it was found impossible to veil that jealousy and distrust which now began to prevail between the general and several members of the government.

Hitherto the congress at Rastadt had proved ineffective. The late expedition into the Roman territory having proved eminently disastrous to the King of Naples, now an exile from his kingdom, an armistice was signed by Prince Pignatelli, on behalf of the Neapolitan government, on the 7th of January, 1799, by which the French forces under Championnet obtained possession of the city of Capua, and thence advanced to the capital, which they entered on the 23d, after a gallant but unavailing resistance. Naples was then proclaimed a republic, under the designation of the Parthenopean Commonwealth; and the provisional government was confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French general.

Whilst the Emperor of Germany was menaced by the French with a renewal of hostilities, if a passage were afforded to the Russian troops into Italy; and whilst the army under Championnet was

employed in establishing the Parthenopean republic ; the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, in front of Coblenz, was obliged, after a memorable defence, to capitulate, on the 24th of January, to the French General D'Allemagne.

The Emperor Paul, of Russia, entered into the new confederacy against the French republic with all the zeal inspired by a chivalrous attachment to the cause of legitimate government, and an hereditary passion for military glory. An appearance of negotiation was still kept up at Rastadt ; but the Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and certain of powerful co-operation in the event of a renewal of the contest, no longer concealed his sentiments. The French, by their unbounded encroachments on the rights of other nations, gave him a plausible pretence for re-arming ; and in a short time a powerful force was in the field. The Archduke Charles assembled 55,000 men between the Inn and the Lech ; Generals Starray and Hotze headed about 20,000 more in the Palatinate and the country of the Grisons ; General Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol with about 25,000 ; and an army of about 60,000, under General Kray, prepared to enter Italy, and re-conquer Lombardy. The command of the French " Army of the Danube " was confided to General Jourdan, who, on the 1st of March, crossed the Rhine in three places ; and, whilst General Bernadotte blockaded the fortress of Philipsburg, Mannheim opened its gates to another body of French troops : on the 20th, however, the Archduke determined to give them battle, and the day was contested with great bravery on both sides, Jourdan maintaining his position until night put an end to the action, when, under cover of darkness, he retreated to a station near Engen. On the 25th a second battle was fought on the plain of Lieblingen,

in the midst of woods ; and such was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitring in person, instead of assuming, as usual, a centre position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. Night, which again put an end to the combat, left the victory undecided ; and on the ensuing morning the invaders renewed their attack ; being, however, once more foiled, General Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of about 4000 men, retreated before the Archduke, and recrossed the Rhine at Lauttemburg and Strasburg. Massena, to whom the command of the army of Switzerland was confided, had taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons ; but the defeat of the grand army in Suabia checked his career.

The chief command of the French armies in Italy had been transferred to Scherer, and his first efforts were directed against Tuscany. Having obtained possession of the capital, the port of Leghorn was at the same time seized by General Miollis, and all the property appertaining to the subjects of Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, subjected to sequestration ; while the Grand Duke and his family were furnished with a guard of honour, and allowed to proceed to the German capital. Scherer then marched to Mantua, where it was determined to attack the enemy before they could receive any reinforcements from Suabia, or effect a junction with the Russians. The Austrians, under General Kray, at this time occupied Verona and its vicinity. On the 26th of March the action commenced in the neighbourhood of Castel Nuovo, when, after a most severe contest, the French were driven across the Adige. Three days after this sanguinary conflict, Scherer again attacked the Austrian posts, and was again defeated.

The Russian General Suworow arrived at Verona in April, and took upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, now estimated at 100,000 men. At this critical period Scherer resigned to Moreau the command of his reduced and dispersed army; and, a retreat having become absolutely necessary, the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua were abandoned to their fate, and Generals Kray and Klanau blockaded them with 25,000 men. Suworow hastened to avail himself of the advantages he enjoyed over a retreating foe; the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of 1000 men, capitulated to the troops under his command; and an engagement, fought on the 27th of April, determined the fate of the Cisalpine republic: on the following day the conquerors entered the city of Milan, and about the same time Count de Bellegarde obtained an uninterrupted series of successes in the mountainous regions of the Engadine; while Hotze dislodged the French troops in the Grison country from all their positions between Luciensteig and Coire. In Switzerland several partial insurrections against the French authorities took place; the canton of Uri was in arms; the Valais had risen in mass; and a great part of the Valteline was in possession of the imperialists. Peschiera also surrendered, after a short siege, to Count St. Julien; and Moreau, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and Tenaro, after defeating General Vukasowich on the banks of the Bormida. The disasters of the French in Italy were productive of extraordinary changes in the southern part of that peninsula, and subjected those who had taken part in the revolutions in Naples and Rome to the most terrible responsibility.

In Calabria, Cardinal Ruffo, having raised a number of new levies round the royal standard, and

having overcome the detachments sent against him in several actions, determined on still greater exploits. On receiving intelligence that the French had evacuated Naples, he collected the wreck of General Mack's army, and, being joined by a body of English and Russians, marched against the capital, when the Executive Directory, and all those who had countenanced the Parthenopean republic, were obliged to take shelter within the fortresses, which fell in succession into the hands of the royal forces; and, on the 13th of July, Fort St. Elmo, the last and strongest of them, was obliged to capitulate to the allies, assisted by a body of British seamen under Captain Troubridge. In Tuscany 40,000 of the inhabitants, on learning the disasters of Moreau and Macdonald, attacked the republicans on every side; the garrison of Florence abandoned the capital; and the ancient magistrates resumed their functions. A few days after, a column of Austrians obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca; and Leghorn was evacuated by capitulation: Rome, however, remained unconquered, but the most vigorous measures were now taken to subdue that city; and, while a body of Tuscan and Neapolitan troops invested the ancient capital of the world, Captain Troubridge, who had appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, summoned General Grenier, the commander of the garrison, to surrender. On the 20th of September a convention was concluded, by which it was agreed to evacuate Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the posts adjacent, on condition that the troops should be sent to France, that the allies of the republic should be allowed to depart unmolested, and that no Roman citizen should be called to account for his conduct.

General Macdonald, having evacuated Naples and reached Florence, collected the scattered French forces throughout Tuscany; and, finding himself at

the head of 38,000 troops, he determined immediately to act on the offensive. After forcing the allies to raise the siege of Fort Urbino, he despatched Olivier against Modena, of which he obtained possession on the 12th of June, and drove the Austrians beyond the Po; while General Kray, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, drew off his heavy artillery from before Mantua, and posted himself in such a situation as to prevent that city from being relieved. Macdonald continued to advance; and having arrived at Piacenza, and formed a junction with General Victor, he obliged General Ott to fall back on the castle of Giovanni. As soon as Suworow had obtained intelligence of the victorious career of the French general, he proceeded to Alexandria, leaving General Kaim to prosecute the siege of Turin; and advanced to the support of General Ott, who was in full retreat. At a village, six miles from Piacenza, a general engagement took place on the 17th, which, having been continued through the following days, terminated in favour of the allies. The vanquished army took advantage of the approach of night to retire in two columns to Piacenza, where four French generals, with several field officers, and between 4 and 5000 soldiers, who had been wounded in the late murderous actions, fell into the hands of the enemy.

General Moreau, taking advantage of Suworow's absence, left Genoa at the head of 29,000 men, and on the 20th of June attacked and beat Field-marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. The Russian field-marshal immediately abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, and endeavoured by a rapid counter-march to overtake Moreau, who, after fighting another battle, retreated within the Ligurian territory. Suworow, however, was consoled in this disappointment by the intelligence of the surrender of Turin

on the 22d of June, and with the capture of Bologna, which fell into the hands of the allies eight days afterwards. Macdonald entered the Genoese territory, formed a junction with Moreau, and thus ended an expedition, in which the French lost not less than 12,000 men.

Destitute of a covering army, the Italian fortresses were now obliged to yield to the besiegers. The surrender of Fort Urbino, St. Leon, and Alexandria, was followed by the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua on the 28th of July. Suworow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but Moreau still occupied his formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and prevented the advance of the allies by threatening to fall upon their rear. The young men of the requisition were, at the same time, put in motion on the frontier, and Championnet was employed in assembling an army of 40,000 men in the vicinity of Grenoble. Supplies were also sent to the army of Italy, and the chief command of that force was transferred from General Moreau to General Joubert, who advanced at the head of 36,000 men, and encamped, on the 15th of August, upon the heights of Novi. The allies were superior in numbers; Suworow and Melas were at the head of 35,000 troops, of their respective nations; 15,000 Piedmontese, who had formerly obliged the garrison of Cevi to surrender, now acted as light troops; while General Kray entered the camp on that very day with 18,000 men, set at liberty by the fall of Mantua.

Suworow, determined to anticipate the French, whom he knew to be most formidable when they were the assailants, attacked their left wing. General Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart; but

the loss of their general diminished not the ardour of the soldiers: thrice did Suworow charge the centre of the enemy in person, at the head of his gallant veterans, and thrice was he repulsed by the French legions, of which Moreau again took the command; but, in the mean time, General Melas succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army, which decided the victory. The danger of being surrounded compelled the French general to abandon the field of battle to the allies, who took four generals and 4000 prisoners; and night alone enabled him to rally his scattered forces, and once more to occupy his former position near Genoa.

No sooner did the French cease to be formidable than the fatal effects of jealousy began to be visible, both in the councils and in the camps of the two nations; and the suspicion and distrust of the armies had at length attained such an alarming height, that it was deemed impolitic to confine their exertions to the same theatre: it was consequently resolved that Melas should continue the war in Italy, while the Russians, under Suworow, should enter Switzerland, and, after defeating Massena, penetrate the territories of the French republic. The commencement of the campaign in Switzerland was peculiarly auspicious to the French, but their successes were of short duration; for in April Schaffhausen and Peterhausen fell into the hands of the Austrians, who, after a succession of engagements, established their head-quarters at Zurich on the 7th of June, and obliged Massena to retreat to Mount Albis. That general, however, having received fresh supplies of men and provisions, recommenced operations against the Archduke; and a column of republicans, detached across the Limmat, penetrated into the Austrian camp on the 14th of August, and carried terror and dismay into that city which they had been so lately forced to abandon. To relieve

Massena, General Muller established his head-quarters at Mannheim, and pushed his advanced guard as far Heidelberg, while Baraguay d'Hilliers imposed a contribution upon Frankfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt. When the Archduke learnt that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and seizing on the rich harvests of Germany, he conferred the command of the Austrian army in Switzerland on General Hotze, and recrossed the Rhine in person. Massena, availing himself of the absence of the prince, and determined to obtain a superiority in Switzerland before the arrival of Suworow, approached Zurich on the 24th of September, and on the following morning the battle commenced. General Hotze, however, received a mortal wound early in the engagement; and General Petrasch and Prince Koraskow were obliged to give way; on which the French troops carried Zurich by assault, and captured a considerable body of Russians posted in that city. The loss of the allies was very great: and their immediate retreat, first to the banks of the Thur, and afterwards across the Rhine, became necessary in consequence.

Suworow, having crossed the plains of Piedmont, and possessed himself of the heights of St. Gothard, was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies at Zurich; and this disastrous intelligence was speedily confirmed by the approach of the retreating troops. Unaccustomed to see the Russian legions fly before their adversaries, he intimated to Prince Koraskow that he should answer with his head if he made another retrograde step. Eager to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, the prince immediately reassembled the wreck of his troops; and, having been joined by a body of Au-

strians, the corps of Condé, and the Bavarian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of his commander, by reassuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of Massena ; but the latter proved his superiority by securing all the intermediate passes. At length, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, the Russians arrived, on the 3d of October, in the valley of Mitten, and took possession of the bridge after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen was also carried the next day : but here ended the progress of the Russian hero. Suworow, after penetrating into the canton of Schwytz, was so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, on a retreat, and effected it in a masterly manner. The loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, was computed at 25,000 men, and that of the French at 15,000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

During the rejoicings of the court of St. Petersburg at the news of the brilliant successes of Suworow in Italy, the Emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not actuated by a zeal ardent as that with which he was inspired, issued an official notification, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, calling upon them to unite their forces with his, and expressing his determination, if properly supported, never to sheath the sword till he had seen the downfall of the monster which threatened to crush all legal authorities. Scarcely had this declaration reached those to whom it was addressed, when Suworow, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, and tired of incessant combats, where valour was unavailing, and even victory was unattended with its usual advantages, collected the wreck of his army at Coire, ordered the remains of Koraskow's troops and the corps of Condé to form a junction with him at that

place, and, after some delay, proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of 100,000 men, who had either left Russia with him eight months before, or joined his army within that period, scarcely 50,000 reached the banks of the Lech. Thus the co-operation of Russia terminated, and Suworow, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, retired to his native country, where he did not long survive the frowns of fortune. He was coldly received by the emperor, and died on the 18th of May, 1800, aged 71.

The French had become once more masters of Switzerland, had retaken St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons. General Muller again penetrated into Germany, seized on Francfort, Mannheim, and Heidelberg, and threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution.

No sooner had the Austrian army, under Melas, advanced into the neighbourhood of Coni, and prepared to lay siege to that fortress, than General Championnet, collecting his whole force, marched to Savigliano to give him battle; but on the 4th of November a furious attack, directed against the column of General Grenier by General Ott, forced the republicans to retreat towards Genola, and the approach of night again saved the French army from ruin. The siege of Coni was now prosecuted with vigour, and on the 2d of January, 1800, the French commander agreed to capitulate, when 2500 republicans became prisoners of war. The success of the allied arms in Italy served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had this year sustained in other quarters; but, on the whole, the campaign was less auspicious in its conclusion than at its commencement; and the defection of the Emperor of Russia damped the future expectations of the court of Vienna.

The English government, sensible of the importance of Holland, as a foe or a confederate, and aware that the exactions made upon the Dutch people by France had become a source of disaffection, determined on fitting out a formidable expedition, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of the resources drawn from the Batavian republic, and of restoring the Prince of Orange to the rank of Stadtholder, and Captain-general of the forces. After a long course of preparation, a descent was made, on the 27th of August, 1799, to the southwest of the Helder point, on the coast of North Holland. A body of 7000 men, French and Dutch, encountered the English, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who with difficulty gained the advantage. Above 1000 of the enemy were killed or wounded, and of the British about 450. It was the intention of Sir Ralph to attack the Helder fort the next morning; but it was evacuated in the night, and he found in it a considerable train of artillery. A naval magazine was also abandoned; and thirteen ships of war, besides three Indiamen, were taken without resistance. Vice-admiral Mitchell then made judicious arrangements for entering the harbour of the Texel; and the approach of the vessels which he selected for that service astonished the Hollanders. Having summoned the commander of the Dutch fleet to hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange, and accept the friendship of Great Britain, he received an answer from Rear-admiral Story, promising to deliver up his squadron, as the men refused to fight. The ships were twelve in number, and eight of them mounted from 54 to 74 guns.

For several days the invading army had no other shelter than could be obtained by digging trenches in the sand; but they found better quarters in their progress. While they waited for the arrival of reinforcements, about 12,000 French and Dutch at-

tacked them with vigour on the 10th of September ; but so strong was the post of the Zuyp, and so firmly did the English defend it, that about 800 of the assailants were killed or wounded, while only 200 suffered on the part of their opponents. The Duke of York now landed with three brigades, and a Russian army also disembarked. As the allied army amounted to 35,000 men, the duke and General d'Hermann ventured upon a speedy action. The Russians, by an impetuous onset, September the 19th, made great havoc, and pushed forward to Bergen ; Abercrombie's column penetrated to Hoorn ; and the two other columns were successful in their attacks ; but the rash confidence of the Russians exposed them to such danger, that the retreat of the whole force soon became necessary. About 3000 of the enemy are said to have been made prisoners, and 2000 were killed or wounded ; of the British soldiers above 1000 were killed, wounded, or captured ; and of the Russians about 2000.

When the weather permitted, the army moved forward, in four columns, to the battle of Egmont, on the 2d of October. The English and Russians were commanded by Generals Abercrombie, d'Essen, Dundas, and Pulteney. The hostile force consisted of 25,000 men, of which number about three-fifths were French, who were under the orders of General Brune, while Daendels had the command of the Dutch. The main body of the first column did not meet with great resistance in the early part of the day ; but when Sir Ralph approached Egmont, he was warmly opposed by a strong corps of French infantry, who were supported by a considerable body of cavalry, and a train of artillery upon the beach. A part of the same column, under Colonel Macdonald, had driven the enemy from Campe and the neighbouring sand-hills ; and some brigades of

the second and third divisions forced Schorel and other posts. The vicinity of Bergen was a scene of brisk conflict. The brigades of Major-general Coote and the Earl of Chatham charged the enemy in flank and rear, and produced a confused retreat; but they could not prevent their adversaries from re-occupying the village in force, though they defended with effect some heights which they had seized. Colonel Macdonald being closely engaged with a resolute body, Lieutenant-general Dundas sent a corps to assist that officer, and thus enabled him to proceed to the aid of Sir Ralph, who had been contending for some hours with a very superior force. At length the cavalry were baffled in an attack upon the British artillery, and, being charged with spirit by Lord Paget, were driven towards Egmont with considerable loss. The evening put an end to the engagement, and the troops rested upon their arms. At day-break the retreat of the enemy gave the English and Russians an opportunity of taking several posts; but, though they pushed forward for that purpose, they were precluded by fatigue from effectually harassing the republican troops. The killed and wounded of the British amounted to about 1550; of the Russians about 600 suffered or were captured, and of the French and Dutch the loss exceeded 3000. The English officers seemed to have been marked out, as an unusual proportion received wounds.

The enemy having taken a very strong position, and being in expectation of a reinforcement, the Duke of York resolved upon another attack before the erection of new works, and when he had no knowledge of the arrival of fresh troops to oppose him. The Russians had a greater share in this action of the 6th of October than in the preceding; and they were so vigorously resisted, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie was obliged to advance with a strong

body to their relief. The whole hostile force then put itself in motion, and the action, which became general along the line, from Limmen to the sea, terminated to the honour of the invaders, as they were left masters of the field; but the loss on both sides was very severe, and the enemy, who soon after received a reinforcement of 6000 troops, maintained their position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee.

The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical as to require the greatest military talents, united with the most mature experience, to direct its future operations. Directly opposite lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received. A naked, barren, and exhausted country, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, extended all around. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the ocean; but a considerable body of troops, occupying an almost inaccessible position, threatened the left. The weather, too, since the evening of the 6th of October, had set in with increased inclemency; and it was with extreme difficulty that the urgent necessities of the troops could be supplied. To these complicated evils the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sandhills of North Holland, while the stadtholderian party remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to the success of the common cause. Under these circumstances, the Duke of York, in the evening of the 7th, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in torrents, issued an unexpected order for the troops to assemble, and at ten o'clock the whole army was in full retreat towards Pellen and Alkmaar. As they could not, however, be embarked in the face of a superior army without considerable loss, the Duke of York and Admiral Mitchell entered into a negotiation with General

Brune, and on the 17th of October an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by the 30th of November; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be considered as exchanged; that the mounted batteries at the Helder should be restored in their present state; that 8000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without conditions to their respective countries; and that Major-general Knox should remain with the French to guarantee the execution of this convention.

These terms were doubtless humiliating; but the proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet surrendered by Admiral Story, and which was at first advanced by General Brune, was received with just indignation; and the Duke threatened, in case of perseverance on this point, to cut the sea-dykes, and inundate the whole country. Thus ended the expedition against Holland, whence so many advantages had been anticipated; but though the military and political objects of it failed, a hostile fleet, the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivalled Britain on the ocean, was drawn from a position where it was capable of exciting alarm, and added to the already gigantic force of the British navy. Nearly 4000 Dutch deserters were brought to England with the British troops, who were embarked without delay: and the Russians were landed and quartered in Guernsey and Jersey.

In the West Indies, this year, the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the hands of the Dutch. A body of troops, collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, and Martinico, by Lieutenant-general Trigge, were embarked on board

a small squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, under the command of Vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, Governor Frederici capitulated, on the 20th of August, without firing a gun. The British navy, during the whole of this year, did not lose a single vessel of war; while twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated. In addition to the ships of war seized by Admiral Mitchell in the Nieuve Diep and the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a forty-gun ship, the Hortog Van Brunswick, in the Straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea, on the part of that power, were interdicted.

The French Directory, which had long been in the enjoyment of supreme power, was rapidly verging towards its dissolution, when Buonaparte arrived from Egypt, and was received in Paris with every possible demonstration of public favour. The Abbe Sieyes, constantly intriguing, was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Buonaparte, and, after disclosing to him certain projects which he entertained, solicited his powerful aid, for the purpose of carrying them into execution. At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (November 9,) by a manœuvre of the conspirators in the Council of Ancients, it was proposed, without communicating with the Directory, that the assembly should adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that for that purpose he should be appointed commander of all the forces; which being passed by a great majority, the sitting was then dissolved. Buonaparte instantly issued two proclama-

tions, announcing his appointment to the command of the city guard and of the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore to the public the blessings of liberty, victory, and peace. He then marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were, for the first time, acquainted with the proceedings that had taken place by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. The director, Barras, who had refused to give in his resignation, was exiled to his country seat under a guard of cavalry, while Goheir and Moulins remained almost passive spectators of the events which deprived them of power, and imposed a new form of government upon their country. In the mean time the Council of Five Hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust; and although Lucien Buonaparte, brother to the general, was at this time its president, an uproar arose on the entrance of the latter, in which even his life was endangered, until General Lefebvre at length rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, and rescued their chief from the dangers with which he was environed. The members instantly decreed that the Council of Ancients had no power to invest Buonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone, and an outlawry was proposed; but the president refused to pronounce the decree against his brother, and quitted the chair. Immediately pistols and poniards were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office, but he remained inflexible until the military arrived to his protection. The chamber was soon cleared of the members of the council, and cries of "Long live the republic!" "Long live Buonaparte!" sent forth by the mili-

tary, shook the lofty domes of St. Cloud. The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehension; but no sooner were the circumstances attending this military usurpation made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the jacobin power, and cherished the hope of a new and better government.

The existing constitution being dissolved, a provisional government was appointed, consisting of three consuls, Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte, who were invested with the full powers of the Directory, and, on the following day, entered upon the public functions at the palace of the Luxembourg. The legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. In forming the new administration, Lucien Buonaparte was constituted minister of the interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs. A new constitution was shortly after submitted to the French nation, and almost unanimously approved. It consisted of an executive composed of three consuls, one bearing the title of chief, and in fact possessing all the authority; a Conservative Senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, and nominated by the consuls; and a Legislative Body of 300 members, with a tribunate of 100. Buonaparte was nominated first or chief consul for a term of ten years.

The new Sovereign of France, as he had now in effect become, finding himself quietly placed in possession of supreme power, and of the palace of the Bourbons, addressed a letter to the King of Great Britain, on Christmas day, for the purpose of entering on a negotiation for peace. "Called by the wishes of the French nation," said he, "to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a

direct communication of it to your Majesty. The war which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice, to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your Majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the independence of weak states, proves, in those that are strong, only the desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but, I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

The British government took some time to consider what would be the proper answer to give to an application at once so unexpected and so unprecedented, both in form and substance; and at length, on the 4th of January, 1800, a letter was sent by Lord Grenville to Talleyrand, containing an official note, in which it was observed, that the King had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He never was, nor had been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He had no other view than that of maintaining, against

all transgression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he had contended against an unprovoked attack, and, for the same objects, he was still obliged to contend; nor could he hope that this necessity would be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution had so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage could arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it should distinctly appear that those causes had ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it had since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribed all her present miseries, was that which had also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France had, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To that indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his Majesty's ancient friends and allies,) had successively been sacrificed. Germany had been ravaged; Italy, though then rescued from its invaders, had been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty had himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom. Nor had these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they had been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to

those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors. While such a system continued to prevail, experience had shown that no defence, but that of open and steady hostility, could be availing. Greatly, indeed, would his Majesty rejoice, whenever it should appear that the dangers to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, had been so long exposed, had really ceased; whenever he should be satisfied that the necessity of resistance was at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles had ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which had endangered the very existence of civil society, had, at length, been finally relinquished; but the conviction of such a change could result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts. The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and would at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation for peace. His Majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation: he looked only to the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he should judge that such security could, in any manner, be obtained, he would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

In the reply to this answer of the British cabinet, dated the 14th of January, Buonaparte renewed the assertion that France was not the aggressor in the

war ; that, so far from having provoked it, she had, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments ; and it was not to be doubted that, occupied entirely at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations : but, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe had entered into a league for its destruction. Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence ; and it was only for the maintenance of her own independence that she had made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens.

In the answer which Lord Grenville forwarded on the 20th of January, the King expressed his concern in observing that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, were systematically defended by her present ruler, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His Majesty refused to enter into the refutation of allegations then universally exploded, and, in so far as they respected his conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they related, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself. The French minister was referred to the first note of the British government for his Majesty's opinion of the present overtures.

Parliament had assembled at the early period of the 24th of September, 1799, and, having passed a bill for ingrafting a large proportion of the militia into the regular army, adjourned to the 21st of

January following. After the adjournment the first subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament was the correspondence which had recently taken place between the British and French governments. Ministers inquired what possible advantage could result from a negotiation with France at this moment, and asked whether the consular government presented a greater certainty of a favourable termination of a treaty than any of the revolutionary governments which had preceded it: the minority, on the other hand, animadverted on the precipitation of ministers in closing the door at once to all hopes of pacification. The rejection of the overtures made by the first consul was, however, approved by decided majorities in both Houses; and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war on an extensive scale. To enable the allies to bring the greatest possible number of troops into the field, negotiations were immediately entered into with the emperor, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Bavaria: the army of Condé, and the Swiss regiment of Rovera, were also taken into the pay of England; and it was proposed, and agreed to by Parliament, to enable the treasury to advance the sum of 500,000*l.* until the subsidiary treaties had been signed and adjusted.

On the 28th of February Mr. Tierney moved “that it is the opinion of this House that it is unjust and unnecessary to continue the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France.” Ministers indignantly denied that the restoration of monarchy was the object of the war; and Mr. Tierney’s motion was negatived by a very large majority, as were two others of similar tendency in the course of the session. The late expedition to Holland became another subject of inquiry; and on the 10th of February Mr. Sheridan prefaced a motion for examining into the causes of its failure by a very copious

speech, in which he acquitted the commander-in-chief, the officers, and the army, who had been sent to the Helder, of all blame; and attributed their misfortunes solely to the impolicy and rashness of ministers. Mr. Dundas insisted on the advantages which had accrued to Britain from the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland: he objected to the motion, however, on more general grounds, as it consigned to Parliament the task of publicly criticising military operations, which was not their duty or department. Mr. Sheridan's motion was negatived by 216 against 45; and a similar one, introduced by Lord Holland in the Upper House, was also rejected by a large majority.

The military and naval forces appointed for the service of the year 1800 were nearly the same as in 1799. Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising this supply, estimated the income tax at 5,300,000*l.* exclusive of 1,700,000*l.* appropriated to the payment of interest for 32,500,000*l.* but he expressed the strongest expectation that it would turn out to a better account. He had negotiated a loan of 18,500,000*l.* the consolidated fund he reckoned at about 4,000,000*l.* exchequer bills 3,000,000*l.* and an advance of 3,000,000*l.* bearing no interest for six years, from the Bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for twenty-one years, with the incidental sources of revenue, made up the required sum of 39,500,000*l.* These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Mr. Tierney, were ultimately carried.

Mr. Pitt having moved, on the 17th of February, for an advance of 500,000*l.* to the Emperor of Germany, it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney, who conjured the House to recollect that

the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of 200,000,000*l.* on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it were to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons ; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger demands would follow ; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no satisfactory or intelligible reason could be assigned, and he defied the ministers to name one. Mr. Pitt found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single word—*security* ; security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world ; a danger which never existed before in any period of society ; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force ; it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France ? It was now centred in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities. Granting that 200,000,000*l.* had been expended for the words “ just and necessary,” they had been expended, he said, for the best of causes, to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges, the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country ; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

On the annual motion for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus suspension act, that opposition ensued in both Houses which might be expected to the continuance of an infringement of constitutional

liberty, the necessity of which was yearly becoming less apparent: the argument, however, that it was not prudent to lay aside safeguards, and perhaps the habit for some years past of acquiescing in the call of ministers for the suspension, caused the motion to pass by majorities as decisive as before. A bill for continuing the act for the better securing and punishing such persons as should attempt to seduce his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance was also passed about the same time.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish Parliament met at Dublin; and, on the 5th of February, a message from the Lord-lieutenant intimated the King's desire that the resolutions passed by the Parliament of Great Britain should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressed his hope that the great object to which they related might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two Parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this occasion the secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, to whose management the business was intrusted, entered into a comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt, and other advocates of the Union in the British Parliament. On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were, in favour of the measure 158, against it 115. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were, upon this occasion, very alarming; and a military guard was found necessary to preserve the advocates of the Union from personal violence. In the House of Peers the Earl of Clare, late Lord Fitzgibbon, Chancellor of Ireland, on moving the first resolution, declared himself satisfied, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent Parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities;

and avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union. Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, declared their disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other peers; after which the question upon the first resolution was put, and carried by 75 against 26 voices. The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks passed through this House with the same or greater facility. In the course of these debates three different protests, drawn with vigour and ability, were entered upon the journals, signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Downshire, Lords Pery and Moira, the Bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings. On the 17th of February, the House of Commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended, however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish Parliament, with virulent party and personal reflections. The reply of Mr. Grattan, who had opposed the measure throughout with all the powers of eloquence, was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor thought proper to resent it by a challenge, and a duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged; and Mr. Corry was wounded, though not dangerously. On the 27th of March, the whole business being completed, Lord Castlereagh moved an address to his Majesty from the Commons, declaring their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles, which, if approved by

the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments. This address, being agreed to by the two Houses, was immediately transmitted to England by Lord Cornwallis.

On the 2d of April the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his Majesty to both Houses of the British Parliament. The measure was opposed, in the House of Peers, by Lord Holland; but, on a division, only the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, whilst 82 supported it. In the Commons Mr. Pitt discussed the particular manner of carrying the measure into effect. As to the propriety of allowing 100 Irish members to sit in the imperial Parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited to the proportional contribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire, and the selection was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth, thus providing at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would make no change in the internal form of British representation, it would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might once have been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances. As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen should be limited to twenty, and that the

imperial Parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility was fixed at thirty-two. Four would suffice to inform the Parliament of the state of the church ; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of the Irish commoners. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended, as more conformable to the spirit of nobility than that which was settled at the Scotch union. The right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the House of Commons, as representatives for Great Britain, would render them fitter to serve their country when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new peers for Ireland he also justified ; for, though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, on account of the very limited nature of the successions. In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the Parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the Catholics to future emancipation. The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudices : almost all prohibitions would be repealed, and only protecting duties to a small amount imposed on some few articles.

Mr. Grey strenuously opposed the plan of the Union. His principal objections were founded on its unpopularity among the Irish people ; on the

means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England. He concluded by moving that the number of Irish placemen who should sit in the united Parliament be limited to nineteen, instead of twenty, which was negatived without a division. Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, acquainting him that the House had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his Majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and, the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the House of Peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. A joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne; and a bill, grounded upon the resolutions, to take effect from the 1st of January, 1801, the first day of the 19th century, immediately passed through both Houses. On the 2d of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two Houses of Parliament on the success of the steps they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, declaring that he should ever consider this measure as the happiest event of his reign. The Irish session also, which had been prolonged till the Union bill passed in England, in order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British Parliament, with other neces-

sary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the Parliament of Ireland.

At this period a scarcity of corn caused great and general alarm. The harvest of the two preceding years had been very unproductive; and the evil being enhanced by the consumption and waste of war, a prodigious rise on every article of provision took place, the consequence of which was very widespread and real distress. The interference of the legislature, in attempting to remedy, or at least to palliate, the public calamity, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than coercive measures. The committee appointed to deliberate upon the subject suggested such methods of relief as appeared most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn by economy and substitution, and held out encouragement to the extended growth of potatoes at home, and the importation of corn from foreign countries. The committee at the same time suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries, and proposed the temporary but entire disuse of corn in the distilleries. To give effect to the proceedings of the legislature on this important subject, his Majesty issued a proclamation towards the close of the year, recommending the greatest frugality in the use of every species of grain, and exhorting and charging all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread, in their respective families, by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week.

Another insane attempt on the life of the King was made this year, from which he providentially escaped. On the 15th of May, just at the moment when he had entered the royal box at Drury-lane

theatre, and while bowing to the audience with his usual condescension, a person in the pit fired a horse pistol apparently at his Majesty. For some seconds the house remained in silent suspense ; but no sooner had they began to recover from their surprise, than the man who fired the pistol, and who proved to be a discharged soldier of the name of Hadfield, was secured. On the 26th of June he was arraigned for high treason, but it was clearly proved that he had for some years laboured under a degree of insanity, in consequence of several desperate sabre wounds in his head, which he had received when acting as a sergeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794 : he was therefore pronounced “ Not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done ;” but he was, of course, ordered to be kept in custody.

CHAPTER XXV.

Recall of the Russian troops—Genoa evacuated by the French—Buonaparte crosses the Alps, and gains the battle of Marengo—Armistice concluded in Italy—Campaign in Germany, and armistice—Preliminaries signed—Disavowed by the emperor—Naval armistice proposed to England by France, and rejected—Armistice with Austria prolonged—Hostilities resumed—Treaty of peace concluded at Luneville between Austria and France—Affairs of Egypt—Assassination of General Kleber—Naval operations—Unsuccessful attempt on Ferrol and Cadiz—Reduction of Malta—Capture of Goree and Curaçoa—War with Russia—Confederacy of the northern powers—Parliament assembled on account of the scarcity of corn—Population bill—New royal title—Meeting of the imperial Parliament—King's speech, and debates on the address—Dispute in the cabinet on the Catholic question—New ministry—The King's return of illness—Parliamentary proceedings—Prorogation—Embargo on Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels—Measures of the northern powers, and occupation of Hanover—Nelson's victory at Copenhagen—Armistice—Death of the Emperor Paul—Final adjustment with the northern powers—Invasion of Portugal by Spain, and subsequent pacification—Madeira occupied by the English—Expedition to Egypt, and final expulsion of the French—Projected invasion of England—Convention between Buonaparte and the Pope—Naval actions—Attack on the Boulogne flotilla—Peace between England and France.

AFTER the unexpected discomfiture of the Russian army at the close of the last campaign, and the

consequent triumph of the French arms in Switzerland, a total change took place in the command and disposition of the allied forces. The Russian emperor, Paul, little inclined to listen to a calm investigation of facts, and easily led away by the hasty impulses of passion, having conceived an insuperable disgust at the unexpected disasters which had befallen his troops in Switzerland and in Holland, had recalled his whole army from the scene of action. The Archduke Charles, too, who gave fair promise of emulating the example of the most renowned warriors, had, by the crooked policy and ruinous influence of the Aulic Council, which had controlled his operations and thwarted his views, been deprived of the command of the Austrian troops; and they were now led by the veteran General Kray in Germany, while Melas continued to command the imperial force employed in Italy. The first operation of any consequence was the siege of Genoa by the Austrians, who were assisted by an English squadron under the command of Lord Keith. Massena defended the city with a vigour and resolution which have seldom been surpassed; and, after the loss of many thousand lives on both sides, famine alone induced him to enter into a treaty, which was concluded on terms honourable to the defenders, and, on the 4th of June, Genoa was evacuated. In the mean time Buonaparte collected a powerful army of reserve in the plains of Burgundy, of which he took the command early in May, and immediately prepared for crossing that formidable mountain, the Great St. Bernard. Having effected the passage, although a design so vast had not been attempted since the days of Hannibal, he pursued his march into Italy, and, clearing all obstacles, obtained possession of Milan and Pavia. Crossing the Po, he defeated the Austrians at Montebello; and on the 16th of June, on the plain between Alessandria and Tortona, was fought the famous battle of Marengo.

Here the vigour of the Austrians seemed long to promise victory to their efforts. They turned the wings of the French, and forced the centre to fall back ; and Melas even flattered himself with the hope of cutting off the retreat of the disordered troops. But when the chief consul, who was in the heat of action, almost despaired of success, General Desaix appeared with a *corps de reserve*, and changed the fortune of the day ; he fell, however, in the attempt. A new line was formed ; the Austrians were checked in their career ; and, though they still exhibited marks of obstinate courage, they were at length totally routed. In this memorable battle, which might well decide the fate of Italy, about 10,000 of their number were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, but not without a loss equally severe on the part of the conquerors. This defeat ruined the hopes of the emperor, and was followed by a proposal from the vanquished general for an armistice, which he purchased by the restitution of Genoa, and the surrender of the citadels of Milan, Turin, Tortona, and other fortresses. Buonaparte then went to Milan to re-establish the Cisalpine republic, which he declared a free and independent nation.

The French army under Moreau had entered Suabia at the latter end of April, where it was opposed by General Kray, and, after various movements of little importance, they at length compelled the Austrians to retire, took possession of Munich, levied contributions on the Elector of Bavaria, and threatened the hereditary states of the emperor. Thus pressed, the Austrians deemed it expedient to consent to an armistice (that in Italy not extending to Germany), which was concluded with Moreau on the 15th of July. Count St. Julien was sent to Paris by the Austrian court, where he signed preliminaries of peace with France on the

basis of the treaty of Campo Formio ; but the emperor, having entered into a new compact with Great Britain, by which it was agreed that neither party should conclude a peace which did not comprehend the other, formally disavowed it, and refused to conclude any treaty, unless England was included in it. At the beginning of September a proposal was made through M. Otto, the French commissary, residing in London, to the British ministers, for concluding a naval armistice, on which condition alone the first consul would consent to prolong the one with Austria, and a long correspondence took place on the subject ; but it evidently appearing that the only object of Buonaparte was to obtain an opportunity of sending supplies to Malta and Alexandria, both of which were strictly blockaded by an English squadron, and as a new armistice was, during the negotiation, concluded with Austria, on condition of the surrender of the three important fortresses of Philipsburgh, Ulm, and Ingoldstadt, by which the French secured an opening into the hereditary states of Austria, the proposal was ultimately rejected on the 9th of October. This armistice terminated on the 29th of November, when Moreau resumed offensive operations, and the Archduke John at first obtained some advantage ; but in a general attack on the lines at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, the Austrians were entirely defeated, and in consequence the French gained possession of Saltzburg. In the space of twenty days from the recommencement of hostilities, the Austrians lost 40,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the French was comparatively small.

The Archduke Charles, who now took the supreme command, seeing no hope of an effectual resistance, proposed another armistice, which was agreed to ; and, the alarming situation of the emperor having

induced the British government to release him from the terms of his alliance, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801, by which France obtained a cession of all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, making that river, from the place where it leaves Switzerland to that where it enters Holland, the boundary of the new republic; thus realizing the original projects of the first revolutionists. The acquisition of this territory destroyed one of the chief barriers against the encroachments of France in the north of Europe. But, that no doubt might be left of the determination of France to overawe the empire, by the continual fear of hostile incursions into Germany, the restitution of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, Cassel, Kehl, and Brisac, on the right bank of the Rhine, were rendered of little value, by a stipulation that they should remain in the same state in which they were at the moment of their evacuation, that is, in ruins. France, therefore, retained the power of interposition in the affairs of Germany, by the right which she had reserved to herself, by this treaty, to settle the indemnities to be secured to the German princes, who were proprietors of the territory ceded to her on the left bank of the Rhine, and by her ability, in consequence of these cessions, to make sudden irruptions into the heart of the hereditary states of Austria. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, were secured to Austria, together with Venice, the Bocca di Cattaro, the canals and the country included between the hereditary states of Austria, the Adriatic sea, and the Adige, from the Tyrol to the mouth of that sea; the towing-path of the Adige to form the line of limitation. France took to herself, and for her vassal, the Italian republic, or kingdom, as it was soon destined to be, the dominions of the Grand Duke of

Tuscany, and the Modenese, whose sovereigns were to be indemnified, for the territory thus iniquitously wrested from them, by other territories, to be wrested, in a manner equally iniquitous, from the sovereign princes of Germany.

After Buonaparte's flight from Egypt, General Kleber entered into a convention, at El Arish, with the commander of the Turkish forces, by which he agreed to evacuate that country, on the condition of the unmolested return of the French troops to Europe. This convention, which was signed on the 24th of January, having been referred to Sir Sidney Smith by the Turks, it received his sanction; but the British cabinet, without being aware of Sir Sidney's share in the transaction, considered that it would be highly impolitic to suffer such a French force to arrive in Europe, to act against the emperor, their ally, and therefore instructed Lord Keith, the commander of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, not to ratify it. That admiral accordingly sent a letter to Kleber, acquainting him that he had received positive orders not to agree to any capitulation with the troops under his command, unless they should consent to surrender themselves prisoners of war, not to go to France until exchanged, and to deliver up all the ships and stores in the port of Alexandria. Kleber, indignant at this unexpected turn of affairs, apprized the Turks that there was an end to the convention; after which hostilities were renewed, and some considerable advantages were gained by the French. After dispersing the army of the Grand Vizier, and quelling an insurrection in Cairo, he was assassinated by a Turkish emissary, and was succeeded in his authority by General Menou.

In consequence of our unrivalled dominion on the ocean, it appears to have been in agitation, at the commencement of the campaign, to make a power-

ful diversion in favour of the allies, by means of an irruption into the southern provinces of France; but the sudden return and singularly good fortune of Buonaparte prevented the execution of this design. In the course of the summer, however, the western departments were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Impetueux*, with a flying squadron, and three troop-ships, made an attack on Quiberon on the 4th of June, in which some batteries were destroyed, but Fort Penthievre proved too strong to be reduced. The same commander also, in an attempt upon the Morbihan, seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burnt a corvette. Sir John Borlase Warren likewise succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks, and in the destruction of fifteen sail of merchantmen and four armed vessels within the sands of Boverneuf Bay. These exploits, combined with many others of a similar nature, put an actual stop to the coasting trade of the enemy, and intercepted the supplies intended for the fleet at Brest.

In August an expedition was fitted out, under the command of Sir James Murray Pulteney and Sir John Borlase Warren, whose first destination was against the Spanish port of Ferrol. After the troops were landed, however, the place was found too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success, and the attempt was therefore relinquished. A more formidable force, both naval and military, was sent against Cadiz, under Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie; but as a pestilent disorder raged in the city, daily destroying numbers of the inhabitants; as it was, nevertheless, capable of making a long resistance; and as the army had another and more important object in view, the destruction of the French in Egypt, this expedition was also abandoned.

Malta, so unjustly seized by Buonaparte, in his voyage to Egypt, had now experienced a blockade of two years both by sea and land, during which time General Vaubois, the French governor, had been summoned no less than eight times. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, a part of the garrison left the port with two French frigates, one of which was taken, but the other escaped the vigilance of the British squadron. A few days after this, the magazines of provisions being exhausted, General Vaubois assembled a council of war, when it was determined to capitulate, and on the 5th of September the island was surrendered into the hands of the British.

In April the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, surrendered to Commodore Sir Charles Hamilton, without resistance; and in September the island of Curaçoa, in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, voluntarily placed itself under the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Notwithstanding these successes, the close of the 18th century was marked by circumstances of a gloomy and discouraging nature to England. France had reduced the continent of Europe to that situation which enabled her, almost without the fear of opposition, to parcel out its various states at her pleasure, a very large portion of the territory included between the Texel and the Bay of Naples being occupied by her tributaries and vassals, or by princes who trembled at her frown. Prussia, indeed, and Russia, had not yet bent beneath the weight of her arms, nor sunk before the machinations of her intriguing spirit; but the Emperor Paul, forsaking his alliance with England, had become her enemy, and, complaining of her maritime encroachments, he stopped all the British vessels in his ports, on the idle allegation of the detention of Malta, to

which he claimed a right, in consequence of the assumed authority of grand master of the order of knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He even sent the seamen into confinement, sequestered all British property on shore, and put seals on all warehouses containing English goods. The Prussian monarch, who had for some time held the scale of victory in his hands, indulged his ancient jealousy of the house of Austria, contemplated her humiliation with pleasure, and passively looked on while France was trampling on the settled institutions of surrounding states, vainly imagining that he possessed the ability to stop her career whenever her efforts should be directed against himself, and, more effectually to favour her views, joined a hostile confederacy of the northern powers, which had been recently formed against England.

The principles of this compact had been adopted and acted upon by Denmark and Sweden; the right of search had been actively resisted; and all the communications which had taken place between Great Britain and the northern powers only seemed to demonstrate the firm resolution of the latter to persist in a line of conduct, which must reduce this country to the necessity of either submitting to a wanton violation of her acknowledged rights, or of resisting the assertion of those hostile principles by arms. This confederacy, aiming a deadly blow at the maritime power of Great Britain, at a period of severe pressure, when forsaken by her continental allies, and threatened with famine at home, was a counterpart of the memorable armed neutrality of 1780, which had the same object in view. An acquiescence in such claims, which went the length of maintaining the right of a neutral power, however insignificant, to carry on, in time of war, the trade of a belligerent, and to supply her with whatever was necessary for the support of the contest in

which she was engaged, would have been equally dangerous and dishonourable; for if the principle were once admitted, that free bottoms made free goods, and that no merchantmen could be subjected to search which were under the protection of a ship of war, a Danish or a Swedish frigate might cover the whole trade of France, and exempt her from the expense of insurance, and the risk of capture. It was a claim which took from maritime superiority all its lawful advantages; sheltered weakness beneath the flag of fraud; and contravened all the principles which, for a century, had regulated the conduct of naval powers. It was, therefore, resolved to resist this combination to the utmost; and, every attempt at procuring redress by negotiation having failed, the most active preparations were made to extort it by arms.

The British Parliament assembled for the last time on the 11th of November, 1800, previously to which the increased price of provisions had been productive of a degree of public distress almost unequalled. The crop of this year, like that of the preceding, had been generally deficient in every country in Europe, and the scarcity bore every symptom of long continuance. The sober and industrious classes of the labouring poor sustained their hardships with laudable patience; and though there were some riots in the metropolis, and various parts of the country, no general ebullition burst forth that required to be suppressed by bloodshed. To alleviate the public distress, the dangerous measure of a maximum was, on the 5th of December, brought forward in Parliament by the Earl of Warwick, who proposed to fix the highest value of wheat at 10s. per bushel, although the actual price was at that time more than 20s.; but the false and mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity, upon which this proposal proceeded, was exploded by

the calm wisdom of Parliament; the motion was rejected with marked disapprobation; and the legislature confined its efforts to suggesting expedients for diminishing the consumption and encouraging the foreign supply. High bounties were granted on importation; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by act of Parliament; the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited; and, to the honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of charity was also liberally opened.

Among other causes of dearth, the great increase of the population was repeatedly mentioned; and in the course of the session a bill was brought into Parliament, by Mr. Abbot, for ascertaining the fact, when it appeared, upon an actual enumeration of the people of Great Britain, that they amounted to nearly 11,000,000, a result exceeding the highest previous conjecture; and it is probable that the aggregate population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted at this period to 16,000,000.

The discussion of the late negotiations, which occupied a part of this short session, produced no debates of importance; and, the supplies having been granted, Parliament was prorogued on the last day of the year by the King in person. His Majesty, before he retired, ordered the Chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals who composed the expiring Parliament should be members, on the part of Great Britain, of the new or imperial Parliament.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland; and also to the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof. In the new heraldic arrangement the *fleur-de-lis* was omitted, the title of King of France was expunged, and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed in the Latin tongue by

these words : “ *Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor,*” and, in the vernacular language, “ George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.” On the same day the great seal of Britain was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the Lord Chancellor. A new standard also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery, in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 22d of January, and proceeded to elect a speaker, when Mr. Henry Addington, who had long and ably filled the chair of the Lower House, was again placed in that elevated situation. On the 2d of February, the King, in a speech from the throne, congratulated the senate on the Union which had been so happily effected ; the other topics were the state of the Continent, and the dispute with the northern associated powers relative to the maritime code. The debates on the address were highly interesting. In the Peers, Earl Fitzwilliam, who had hitherto contended strenuously for the continuance of the war, and the restoration of the Bourbons, treated the contest as hopeless ; he, however, insisted on the propriety of an inquiry into the causes of the failure, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had had the aid of all Europe in the common cause ; it was also necessary to be informed why, instead of succeeding against an ancient enemy, they had at once plunged the nation into a contest with her allies. The new conflict in which we were about to engage was, he added, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking, as we had it in our power to suspend the

discussion of the question relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1780, when this country was in a less difficult situation than at present. Lord Grenville defended the conduct of ministers, and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels originated in the law of nations and the rights of nature; and that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of our commerce and our wealth, and was the bulwark of the naval and military glory of Great Britain. On a division, the address was carried by a majority of 73 to 17 voices.

In the Commons, Mr. Pitt insisted that our very existence as a nation depended on the right of searching neutral vessels: he maintained that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations; and he asked, if we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited, to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions, and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or to Toulon? When the House divided, the majority in favour of ministers was 245 against 63.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland was regarded by Mr. Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre upon his administration; and although he had uniformly opposed the claim of Catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, he had, it was understood, to facilitate this favourite object, given assurances to the Irish Catholics of a complete participation in all political privileges, as soon as the Union should have taken place. When this proposition was submitted to the cabinet council, some of its members expressed opposite sentiments, and the

King took a decided part in the dispute, alleging that the oath taken by him at his coronation precluded his assent to a scheme which might, in its consequences, endanger the religious establishment. As this repugnance obstructed the recommendation of the measure to Parliament, and diminished the probability of its success, Mr. Pitt declared that he conceived himself bound to resign a situation in which he was not at full liberty to pursue his ideas of equity and public benefit: unquestionably, however, this circumstance alone did not induce him to retire, such a step being forcibly inculcated by the situation of the country, which was now left, without a single ally, involved in an apparently interminable war, and in the hands of a ministry, who, by their decided hostility to the existing government of France, had almost precluded the possibility of engaging in amicable negotiations. The prime minister was accompanied in his resignation by Lord Grenville, and other members of the cabinet.

The offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer were conferred upon Mr. Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons; to which high office he had been appointed by the influence of Mr. Pitt, with whom he continued on terms of intimate friendship. The post next in dignity, that of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St. Vincent was placed at the head of the Admiralty, in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the Court of Chancery; Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated Secretaries of State, in the room of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland; Mr. Yorke succeeded Mr. Windham as Secretary at War; his brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland; Lord

Lewisham was placed at the head of the Board of Control; and in this general change the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet, the former as President of the Council, and the latter as Lord Privy Seal. On the 10th of February Mr. Addington resigned his office as Speaker of the House of Commons; and on the following day Sir John Mitford was chosen in his stead. The agitation of the King's mind had, however, so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and a total interruption of the regal functions ensued, during which the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices. On the same day that Mr. Addington resigned his office of Speaker, the Earl of Darnley moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation, when Lord Grenville acquainted the House that his Majesty's servants, not being able to carry into effect a measure which they deemed essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, had tendered the resignation of their several employments, which had been accepted; and on this representation the Earl postponed his motion. The routine of Parliamentary business went on as usual, until the recovery of the King, when the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed form, and on the 17th of March Mr. Addington was sworn into the two offices which Mr. Pitt had so long enjoyed.

The first measures of the new ministry were directed towards the securing of internal tranquillity. Ireland being still in a disturbed state, the act for the suppression of rebellion in that country was renewed, as was that for the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. This act was also suspended in Great Britain, and the bill for preventing seditious meetings

was revived, in consequence of a report from a select committee of the House of Commons, stating the existence of societies of disaffected persons in Great Britain, particularly of one in London, entitled the United Britons. These measures were followed by the introduction of a bill of indemnity in favour of the late administration, which also passed both Houses. An act to remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons, by which they were henceforth excluded, passed in this session, in consequence of John Horne Tooke's having been returned for Old Sarum by its proprietor, Lord Camelford; and on the 2d of July Parliament was prorogued by commission.

The late ministry, determined to overawe or to dispel the northern confederacy, had issued an order in council, dated the 14th of January, imposing an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this occasion with peculiar deference, probably because its hostility would endanger the King's German dominions. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to hazard all the evils likely to result from a war, which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, and her commerce from the shores of the Elbe, the Ems, the Vistula, and the Weser. On the other hand, the utmost exertions had for some time past been made in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line; and these, together with the numerous gunboats and floating batteries which they either possessed already, or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to attack.

In the course of the spring the Danes took possession of Hamburgh, for the alleged purpose of stopping the British trade to that port, and the King of Prussia, after an unsuccessful negotiation with the English government, occupied the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle and the port of Cuxhaven. On the 30th of March, a body of his troops entered the electorate of Hanover, and, as the military establishment was not sufficient to justify resistance, a conventional declaration was issued, submitting to his Prussian Majesty.

As no hopes could be entertained of the pacification of Europe, on terms honourable to Great Britain, until the dissolution of this confederacy, a British fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and four frigates, with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty-four sail, proceeded from Yarmouth Roads for the Baltic, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by Vice-admiral Lord Nelson and Rear-admiral Totty, the last of whom was so unfortunate as to lose his flag-ship on a sand-bank off the coast of Lincolnshire. It was supposed that Denmark, whose trade and prosperity had increased considerably during the war, might be prevailed upon to sue for forbearance, and the first efforts of this armament were therefore directed against her capital, while Mr. Vansittart, a new minister plenipotentiary, was instructed to endeavour to detach the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance; the Prince Regent, however, who had governed many years in the name of his father, declared that he was determined to adhere to his engagements. On the 30th of March the English squadron passed the Sound with no considerable resistance, and, after anchoring about four or five miles from the island of Huen, Sir Hyde Parker, in company with Lord Nelson and Rear-admiral Graves, surveyed the formidable line of

ships, rideaux, galleys, fire-vessels, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns: these were supported by two ships of 70 guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, while two 64-gun vessels, without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance to the arsenal. Lord Nelson, who had made an offer of his services to conduct the attack, and had for that purpose shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, a vessel of smaller size, immediately gave directions for buoying the channel of the Outer Diep and the middle ground, after which the detachment, consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, selected for the assault, passed in safety, and anchored off *Draco*.

On the morning of the 2d of April the Vice-admiral made the signal to weigh and engage the Danish line of defence, which was found to consist of six sail of two-deckers, eleven floating batteries, mounting from eighteen to twenty-six cannon each, one bomb-ketch, and several schooner-rigged gun-vessels; these were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, together with some batteries thrown up on the island of *Amak*. The shallowness of the water and the intricacy of the navigation prevented the complete execution of the projected plan, for the *Bellona* and *Russell* grounded before they had reached the stations assigned to them, while the *Agamemnon*, being unable to weather the shoal of the middle, was obliged to anchor. The *Elephant's* station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore *Fischer*, who commanded in the *Dannebrog*, a 62-gun ship; and the average distance at which the action was fought was scarcely a cable's length. It commenced soon after ten o'clock; before half past eleven it became general;

and at one *p. m.* when few, if any, of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire, the *Isis*, *Monarch*, and *Bellona*, had received serious injury; while the division of the commander-in-chief could only menace the entrance to the harbour. In this posture of affairs the signal was thrown out on board the *London*, Admiral Parker's ship, for the action to cease; but Lord Nelson, nevertheless, continued the attack with unabated vigour. About two *p. m.* the greatest part of the enemy's line had ceased to fire; some of the lighter ships were adrift; and the carnage on board their vessels, whose crews were reinforced from the shore, was dreadful. The Danish commodore's ship was now on fire, and drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror and dismay throughout their line; few of her crew could be saved, although the British boats rowed in every direction for the purpose; and about half past three she blew up with a terrible explosion.

The ships ahead, and the Crown batteries, as well as the prizes made by the British, continuing to fire after the *Dannebrog* was in flames, Lord Nelson despatched a letter, addressed "To the Brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes," saying, that if the fire were continued on the part of Denmark, he must be obliged to destroy all the floating batteries he had taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who had defended them. This was conveyed on shore, through the contending fleets, by Captain Sir Frederic Thesiger, who found the prince near the sally-port, animating his people, and sharing their dangers. It deserves to be remarked, that this letter, which exhibited a happy union of policy and courage, was written at a moment when Lord Nelson perceived, that, in consequence of the unfavourable state of the wind, the admiral was not likely to get up to aid the enterprise; that the principal batteries of the enemy,

and the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were yet untouched; that two of his own division had grounded; and that others were likely to share the same fate.

The firing from the Crown batteries, and from the leading ships of the British, did not cease till past three o'clock, when the Danish Adjutant-general, Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed it to be suspended. The signal for doing the same was then made to the British ships, and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested, and during which the whole of the Danish line, to the southward of the Crown islands, amounting to seventeen sail, were sunk, burnt, or taken. The battle of Copenhagen was, by Lord Nelson's own account, the most dreadful that he had ever witnessed. Captain Riou, who particularly distinguished himself, was severed in two by a raking shot; Captain Mosse, commander of the *Monarch*, was also killed; and the total loss of the British, in killed and wounded, amounted to 1000; while that of the Danes was considerably greater. Notwithstanding the long peace they had enjoyed, the Danish batteries, both afloat and ashore, were manned, and the guns served, with a degree of promptitude and valour that would have conferred credit on veteran troops. A negotiation was entered upon, which terminated in an armistice for fourteen weeks, during which the treaty of armed neutrality, as far as related to Denmark, was to be suspended.

When the disabled vessels were refitted, the British squadron sailed to Carlsrona, and on the 18th of April arrived off that port. Sir Hyde Parker lost no time in acquainting the governor that an armistice had been concluded, by which the disputes between the courts of Copenhagen and St. James's had been accommodated; and he re-

quired an explicit answer from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to abandon the hostile measures adopted, in conjunction with Russia, against the rights and interests of Great Britain. To this Vice-admiral Cronstedt replied, that it was the unalterable resolution of his Swedish Majesty not to fail for a moment in fulfilling, with fidelity and sincerity, the engagements he had entered into with his allies ; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for the accommodation of disputes, provided they were made by plenipotentiaries, sent on the part of the King of Great Britain to the united powers. On receiving this answer, the admiral left the bay without firing a gun ; and all future hostilities with the northern states were happily prevented by the death of the Emperor Paul, who fell by the hands of his courtiers on the 22d of March.

As soon as Alexander I. son of the deposed emperor, succeeded to the throne of his father, he published an ukase, revoking several of the acts of the late government, and restoring the British seamen to liberty. Baron Lisakeewitsch, the Russian minister at the court of Denmark, having notified those events to Sir Hyde Parker, the admiral immediately returned to Kioge bay, to await the orders of his court in consequence of this new and interesting change ; and in the mean time the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm. About the same period Lord St. Helen's arrived at the court of St. Petersburg, in quality of minister plenipotentiary for England ; and, by a convention signed in the Russian capital on the 17th of June, the emperor on the one hand allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers ; while, on the other hand, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries engaged

in war, might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; but, by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother country of a belligerent and her colonies was expressly excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. It was also stipulated by one of the articles that Sweden and Denmark should receive back their ships and settlements on acceding to this treaty, and with these terms they both very readily complied. Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the Emperor Paul, and partly by the thunder of her navy, saw a confederacy dissolved which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and was calculated to involve her in a new and disastrous war.

The attachment of Portugal to England again excited the attention of the French government, and its ally, the King of Spain, was induced to declare war against that country in March. A counter declaration from the court of Lisbon was issued on the 21st of April, worthy of the most prosperous days of the Portuguese monarchy, and accompanied by preparations for defence. A Spanish army, however, entered the province of Alentejo in May, and, having advanced to the Tagus almost without opposition, a treaty of peace was signed at Badajos on the 6th of June, by which Spain obtained possession of the province of Olivenza, and the harbours of Portugal were shut against the English. The French government refused to concur in the treaty unless certain places in Portugal were occupied by French troops; and General St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court of Madrid, entered Portugal at the head of 24,000 troops, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. No sooner was this event known at Lisbon than the court became alarmed for its safety, and, as the subsidy of 300,000*l.* voted to that state by the British

Parliament, was unaccompanied by a body of troops, as had been originally intended, a treaty was signed at Madrid on the 29th of September, highly favourable to France. During this contest the British ministry, apprehensive lest the island of Madeira should be delivered up to the enemy, sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces under Colonel Clinton, who took possession of the forts which command the bay of Funchal.

The force which had been destined against Egypt in the preceding year, after having repaired to Gibraltar, to recover from the inconveniences of a long cruise in a boisterous season, proceeded from Malta in December, in two divisions, for Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, where they were landed for refreshment. Being re-embarked, they sailed for Aboukir bay; and on the 8th of March, 1801, the first division effected their landing in the face of a body of French, who were aware of their intention, and were posted in force with considerable advantages of position. The front of the disembarkation was narrow; and a hill, which commanded the whole, appeared almost inaccessible; yet the British troops ascended it, under the fire of grape-shot, with the utmost intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery and a number of horses: in this service 700 of our men, sailors included, were killed or wounded. On the 12th the whole army came within sight of the French, who were formed advantageously on a ridge, and on the following day marched in two lines with an intention of turning their right flank: the attack, however, was anticipated by the enemy, who descended from the heights on which they had formed, and engaged the leading brigades of both lines: the British troops were therefore obliged to change their position, and the advanced guard suffered considerably; but, after a severe conflict, which lasted several

hours, the general did not think it prudent to persist in his intention to force the heights, and therefore ordered the army to return to the position which they occupied in the morning.

Fort Aboukir capitulated on the 19th; and on the 20th, General Menou arriving from Cairo, the whole of the French disposeable force was concentrated at Alexandria. The memorable conflict which decided the fate of Egypt took place on the following day, at the distance of about four miles from that city. It commenced before daylight in the morning, by a false attack on the left of the English, under Major-general Craddock, in which the French were repulsed; but their most vigorous efforts were directed to the right, where the contest was remarkably obstinate: they were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with the British infantry. An attempt at the same time to penetrate the centre of the British army with a column of infantry was also repulsed; another body which advanced against the left of the English was likewise unsuccessful, and the British forces remained masters of the field. The loss on our side, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 1500; that of the French, who lost the greatest part of a famous corps which Buonaparte had arrogantly called the Invincibles, and whose standard was taken, was estimated at double that number. In this action Major-general Moore and Sir Sidney Smith were also wounded, and three French generals died of their wounds.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was vigorously engaged in the heat of action on the right, when he received a mortal wound in the thigh by a musket ball, which he concealed from the army till the period for exertion was past, when his strength failed him: he was carried off the field, and conveyed on board the admiral's ship, where he died on the 28th. His death was universally and most deservedly lamented,

for his mind was stored with every great and good quality ; his military talents were undoubtedly great ; his services had been long and brilliant ; and, whilst regarded as a strict disciplinarian, he still conciliated the esteem of all whom he commanded.

On the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the command devolved on General Hutchinson, with whom it was for some time a matter of doubt whether he should lay siege to Alexandria, or proceed further into the country, and, after forming a junction with the Turkish army, which was hastening to join him by the way of Syria, endeavour to reduce Grand Cairo, and to cut off all communication between the French on the coast, and every part of the interior. The inadequacy of his force to form the siege of Alexandria induced him to adopt the latter plan of operations : the junction between the English and Turkish armies was effected at the beginning of June ; and on the 15th General Hutchinson wrote to General Belliard, who commanded at Cairo, offering him the most honourable terms to induce him to surrender the place, but he at first peremptorily refused : he, however, shortly sent a flag of truce to the English camp ; and on the 27th of June the French engaged to evacuate Cairo, on being allowed to return with their arms to Europe. This capitulation was carried into effect on the 10th of the following month, when the English and Turkish flags were hoisted on the citadel. The total amount of persons included in the capitulation exceeded 14,000, exclusive of women and children. In the mean time the town and castle of Rosetta were taken by a division of the British army, under Colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks ; and the French garrison, consisting of about 800 men, after a feeble resistance, retired to the right bank of the Nile. General Hutchinson, having received some reinforcements in the month of July, which swelled

his army to 16,000 men, resolved to commence the siege of Alexandria. The approaches to the town were made under circumstances highly honourable to the valour and good conduct of the besieging army, who drove the enemy from post to post, till the French commander, Menou, finding no prospect of relief from Europe, and no hopes of ultimate success from further resistance, agreed, on the 1st of September, to surrender the place on condition of being sent to Europe. The whole force in Alexandria, at the period of this capitulation, was 10,528 men ; the last of which sailed from the harbour on the 18th of September.

Thus, with a force far inferior to that of their opponents, did the British army wrest this important country from their enemies, and restore it to their allies ; but, as the conventions were concluded on grounds similar to that signed at El Arish, the philanthropist will not consider the glory acquired by the British arms as an equivalent for the effusion of blood with which the protraction of the contest was attended. Intelligence of the event reached Paris before the British cabinet could be apprized of it, through an inconsiderate permission, granted by General Hutchinson to the French commander, to despatch a swift-sailing vessel to his government the moment the capitulation was signed. In consequence of the knowledge thus obtained, the first consul of France derived an important advantage in a treaty of peace which he hastily concluded with the Turks, and which contained many provisions highly favourable to the French, who had grossly violated every agreement which they had entered into with the Porte ; and greatly prejudicial to the English, who, from the important assistance which they had rendered to the Turks, and from their honourable conduct towards them on all occasions, were entitled to every return which justice, gene-

rosity, and gratitude, could suggest. The evacuation of Egypt (the Turkish ambassador not knowing that it had actually taken place) was the consideration held out by the French for the benefits which they claimed and the privileges which they acquired by this new treaty.

Whilst the possession of Egypt was uncertain, Buonaparte determined to point all his efforts against the only enemy either unsubdued or unhumbled by the arts and arms of France. Large bodies of troops were accordingly collected on the opposite coasts; ships, guns, and flat-bottomed boats, were built and equipped; the ports of France, Belgium, and Holland, were crowded with armed vessels; camps were formed at Bruges, Gravelines, Boulogne, Brest, Granville, Cherbourg, and St. Maloe's; and the deeds about to be performed by those armies which had forced the passage of the Bormida, the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and gained the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were vaunted in the consular proclamations and manifestoes. Buonaparte affected to consider the English as a nation rendered effeminate by wealth, and unwarlike by commerce; and it was confidently predicted that the steel of the French would prove more than a match for the gold of the Britons. On the other hand the whole island was in motion; and one uniform spirit of patriotic defiance was breathed by the inhabitants. The volunteer battalions and companies were increased; a numerous and respectable body of yeomanry cavalry was formed; the fencible regiments were disciplined into a knowledge of the military art; and the militia, many regiments of which had served in Ireland, received a considerable augmentation by means of the supplementary levy. From the votes of supply for this year, it appears that the total land and sea force, exclusive of volunteers, amounted to nearly 500,000.

Buonaparte, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient Kings of France with that of the emperors of the west. By a convention with the pope, ratified on the 10th of September, he was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were obtained for the Gallican church. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new formula of prayer was introduced; and the holy father covenanted that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed. By a concordat, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the Catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expenses of public worship.

British seamen this year displayed their accustomed zeal and devotion in the cause of their country. In March Admiral Duckworth made an easy capture of the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, as well as the Danish settlements of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which were of course restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg; the islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatia were also reduced; while in the east the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Islands, surrendered on the 21st of June, after a vigorous resistance, to a small squadron, under the command of Captain Hayes. In the Mediterranean two severe actions took place; the former of which proved unfortunate. Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez was blockading the port of Cadiz, when he received intelligence that three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algesiras, under cover of

the batteries on shore, and immediately conceived the bold design of attacking them in that situation. On the 6th of July he proceeded with six sail of the line, under a favourable breeze, and a great impression was made on the flag-ship of the French commander, Rear-admiral Linois, by Captain Stirling, in the *Pompée*, till a change of wind prevented him from acting : as soon, however, as it again favoured, the *Hannibal*, Captain Ferris, pushed forward in the hope of passing between the French ships and the shore, an attempt which he thought might lead to a complete triumph ; but his ship happened to take the ground under one of the batteries, and, as no effort could extricate her, he was obliged to give her up, after considerable loss on both sides. A breeze having enabled two other ships to approach the enemy, they kept up for a time a heavy fire ; but the impracticability of a close action at length induced Sir James to withdraw his force, when above 360 of his men had been killed or wounded. This disappointment served only to stimulate the eagerness of the British seamen for another contest. The ships were repaired with great expedition ; and when the French, joined by a Spanish squadron, were sailing towards Cadiz, the rear of the united fleet was attacked, on the night of the 12th of July, by the *Superb*, Captain Keats. This vessel having fired between the Spanish admiral's ship and another of 112 guns, and then retired, a mutual error, arising from the darkness of the night, occasioned a conflict between those two enemy's ships, when one of them suddenly took fire ; the flames rapidly extended to the other ; and both blew up with the loss of about 2000 men. This melancholy accident discouraged Linois and his associates, and tended to accelerate their retreat. The *San Antonio*, of 74 guns, was taken ; but the *Formidable* baffled a severe attack from Captain Hood, whose ship struck upon a rock,

and was with difficulty towed off in a disabled state. The enemy reached Cadiz without further molestation; and the English admiral sailed with his prize to Gibraltar. Thus ended an action in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and Sir James Saumarez was gratified with the thanks of the two Houses of Parliament, and rewarded with a pension of 1200*l.* per annum.

In the course of this year Captain Rowley Bulteel, in the *Belliqueux*, with a convoy of East India-men, captured two French frigates in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa. The fleet under Vice-admiral Rainier in the East Indies seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby, in the *Bourdellois*, belonging to Rear-admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. In the Mediterranean a most severe action was fought, on the 10th of February, between the *Phœbe*, Captain R. Barlow, and the French frigate *L'Africaine*, the commander of which, though incapable of contending with the British vessel, would not yield until his ship became a mere wreck, and his decks were crowded with the dying and the dead: the number of the latter amounted to 200, and the wounded to 143, while the loss of the *Phœbe* was only one killed and twelve wounded. Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of 14 four-pounders, and 54 men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit, by boarding and capturing the Spanish *Zebeck* frigate, of 32 guns, and 319 men, off Barcelona.

The most interesting exploit of this campaign yet remains to be noticed. On the 2d of August Lord

Nelson hoisted his flag as vice-admiral of the blue on board the *Medusa*, and proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, to Boulogne, where the French had assembled a great number of gun-boats, armed brigs, and lugger-rigged flats. Perceiving that twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour, a signal was hoisted, on which the bombs weighed with favourable wind, and threw their shells with such effect, that, in the course of a few hours, three of the flats and brigs were sunk, and six driven on shore. Lord Nelson, being of opinion that the remainder of the flotilla might be captured by the boats of his squadron, directed an expedition to be undertaken on the night of the 15th of August, by five divisions, one of which carried howitzers, under the command of Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Parker, Jones, and Conn, of the royal navy. Parker's division first approached the enemy, and began the attack with undaunted bravery; but an unforeseen obstacle baffled his exertions: a very strong netting was traced up to the lower yards of the French vessels, which were firmly fastened with chains to each other, as well as to the ground; and so irresistible was the foe, thus guarded, that two-thirds of the crew of the boat in which he acted were repelled, in attempting to board a large brig, by a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry: the gallant captain afterwards died of his wounds. The other divisions separating, and not arriving at the same time, only the lugger was brought off, while several boats of the assailants were sunk or taken, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

Whilst every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostility, the inhabitants of both France and England had become heartily tired of the war. For some time past an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of

truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. The negotiation had been carried on in London, between Lord Hawkesbury, on the one hand, and Louis William Otto, who had been some time resident in this country as a commissary for the exchange of prisoners, on the other; the former, by a departure from the established rules of diplomatic etiquette, having consented to reduce himself to a level with a private citizen of France. It had continued during the whole of the summer; and in its progress many impediments arose, and some curious discussions took place, relative to the liberty of the press in this country, which Buonaparte, fearful that it might be employed to expose his own character, wished to restrain; but with every disposition to concede, as far as possible, Lord Hawkesbury resisted every attempt to encroach on that freedom of discussion, to which much of the excellence of the British constitution may fairly be ascribed. At length the cabinet of Paris, having received Menou's despatches from Egypt, hastened the conclusion of the business; and on the 1st of October the preliminaries were signed by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the Lord Mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the kingdom. At the end of eleven days the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul was brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, who, as well the French plenipotentiary, was drawn through the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. By this treaty Great Britain restored to France and her

allies every possession or colony taken from them during the war, with the exception of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements at Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to become a free port, and Malta was to be restored to the order; but under the express guarantee and protection of a third power, to be fixed upon in the definitive treaty. In order to bring that treaty to a speedy conclusion, Lord Cornwallis was despatched to France. Amiens was the scene of negotiation appointed by the first consul; and his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, received the full power to treat with the British plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion which ensued fresh difficulties were started by France, and fresh demands preferred, which occasioned so much delay that it was supposed by many that war would be renewed. On the 25th of March, 1802, however, matters were finally arranged, and the seal was put to the treaty of Amiens, which differed from the preliminaries only in the following points:—A part of Portuguese Guiana was given up to the French by a new adjustment of boundaries: with regard to Malta, it was stipulated that no French or English language, or class of knights, should be allowed; that one-half of the soldiers in garrison should be natives, and that the rest should be furnished for a time by the King of Naples; that the independence of the island, under the sway of the knights, should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; and that its ports should be free to all nations. It was agreed that the Prince of Orange should receive compensation for his loss of property and of power. Persons who might hereafter be accused of murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy, were to be surrendered to the demands of each of the respective powers.

Thus ended the revolutionary war, in the defeat

of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed of indemnity for the past and of security for the future; and in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French republic, and pursued with unremitting activity by all her successive rulers. By the peace of Amiens a great part of the continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France; and French influence remained predominant from the German Ocean to the Bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her child and champion established his ascendancy; her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded; and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the princes originally confederated against France professed to have in view was attained; on the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress. Her government, it is true, had assumed a new form, less terrific in appearance than the murderous system of Robespierre and his sanguinary associates, but in reality more despotic. A military tyranny, formed out of the elements of Jacobinism, destroyed every vestige of civil liberty, and imposed the most galling and odious fetters on the minds, as well as the persons, of the people. England, indeed, had escaped the yoke to which the powers of the Continent had, in a greater or lesser degree, submitted. She had secured her constitution and her government from the effects of that revolutionary poison which had destroyed so many ancient institutions, and had subverted so many thrones. She had even enlarged her dominions by the acquisition of an important settlement in Asia, which afforded her the long sought for advantage of a safe and commodious

harbour in the Eastern Ocean, and by an island in the West Indies, of consequence more from its relative situation to the Spanish Main, than from its produce or probable revenue. She had also kept inviolate her faith with her allies, and had preserved her national character pure amidst surrounding corruption: but here ends the catalogue of her advantages; in every other point she had completely failed. None of the objects which she had pursued in common with the other powers of Europe had she been able to attain: she had bounteously opened her treasures to those who fought against revolutionary anarchy; she had made every exertion which her spirit could suggest and her resources command; and, had her allies but displayed equal vigour and resolution, their united efforts must have been crowned with success. All ranks and descriptions of men, however, hailed the return of peace with extraordinary marks of joy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Meeting of Parliament—Address—Sentiments on the peace—Debates on the preliminary treaty—On the northern convention—Debts of the civil list—Claim of the Prince of Wales to arrears of Cornish revenues—Repeal of the income tax—Loan—New taxes—Sinking fund—Irish finances—Bank restriction continued—Motions respecting Mr. Pitt—Increase of his popularity—Mr. Abbot elected speaker—Death of Lord Kenyon—Debates on the definitive treaty of peace—Militia augmentation—Vaccine inoculation—Parliament dissolved—French expedition to St. Domingo and Guadaloupe—Mutiny in Bantry Bay—Affairs of Switzerland—Annexation of Piedmont to France—Seizure of the Maltese property in Spain—Buonaparte elected First Consul for life—New constitution in France—Legion of honour—Affairs of France in the West Indies—Despard's conspiracy—New Parliament—Symptoms of hostility between France and England—The British ambassador leaves Paris—Bank restriction renewed—Grant to the Prince of Wales—Messages respecting military preparations in France, and for calling out the militia—Another, announcing hostilities—Debates thereon—Mr. Fox's motion for accepting the mediation of Russia—Motions against the conduct of ministers—Military preparations—Levy en masse—Finance—Volunteer associations—Preparations for invasion by France—Vote of thanks to the volunteers—The Prince of Wales is refused military promotion—Act to relieve Catholics—Attempt to murder made capital—Rebellion in Ireland, and murder of Lord Kilwarden—Ireland placed under martial law, and Habeas Corpus act suspended—Em-

mett and others executed for treason—Capture of St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.—The French expelled from St. Domingo—French expedition to the east—Movements in Europe—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser—War with Holland—Exactions of Buonaparte—Sale of Louisiana—English travellers in France made prisoners of war—Naval operations.

THE second session of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was opened on the 29th of October, 1801, by the King in person, who, in a speech from the throne, announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiation for peace, and declared his satisfaction that the difference which existed with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which the essential rights for which we contended were secured. He then proceeded to state that preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. In the Upper House the address was moved by Lord Bolton; and the Duke of Bedford, in a speech containing much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

In the Lower House Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt, who described it as glorious and honourable. After the continental alliance had been dissolved, he said,

nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us. When it became a mere question of terms, he was much more anxious as to the tone and character of the peace, than about any particular object which should come into dispute. As long as the peace was honourable, he should prefer accepting terms even short of what he thought the country entitled to, to risking the result of the negotiation by too obstinate an adherence to any particular point. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late Secretary at War, avowed his entire disapprobation of the treaty, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. Mr. Sheridan said he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud.

The subject of the preliminary treaty was taken formally into consideration by the Lords on the 3d of November, and a decided opposition to the terms of the peace was expressed by Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Lord Grenville. The latter nobleman, after drawing a parallel between the two contracting parties, and appreciating the acquisitions of France, observed, that on our side we had to boast successes no less brilliant and striking. We had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode invincible. We had captured Malta, occupied Minorca, and shut up the Mediterranean against the navies of France and Spain. In the East Indies we had every thing except Batavia; and that possession would have been ours, but it was not worth the cost of an expedition. We had the Cape of Good Hope; if not the only, at least an important, key to the East. We possessed the most desirable of the West India islands, and on

the continent of South America the valuable settlements of Surinam and Demerara. Colonial acquisitions, if not the main objects of the war, were yet highly essential, as they enabled us to cripple the maritime strength of the enemy by contracting her commerce; and if the continent of Europe could not have been restored to its former state, they ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France. In the West Indies we had ceded all our conquests except Trinidad; and for this we had given in exchange the valuable island of Martinique. In the Mediterranean, where we possessed every thing, we had given up all except Gibraltar. Malta we had surrendered, and had reserved its future protection for subsequent discussion; yet no arrangement respecting that island could replace us in the situation in which we stood before the war. As the treaty did not specify who the protecting power was to be, it would be indecorous in him to say more upon that subject; but, in any contest with that power, he would hold this important fortress as a pledge for our acquiescence in any demands which might be made. Having noticed the unsatisfactory guarantee for Portugal, and the omission of an effectual stipulation for Naples, he observed, that, if we had negotiated on a footing of equality, he saw no reciprocity; all the sacrifices were made on our part, and none on that of the other contracting parties. If the peace was not a measure of necessity, was it, he asked, one of security? In his opinion our danger was greater than ever. Malta, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, all were surrendered; and our only security was the word of the government of France.

The treaty was defended by the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, Earls Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London, who argued that we had entered

into the contest to guard the country against principles which had been designedly propagated for the purpose of overturning the constitution, but which no longer existed to any alarming extent; the cession of Malta could not endanger our security in the Mediterranean, since the isle was to be placed under the guarantee of a third power; and there was no use in maintaining a naval station there, if we could not command the commerce of that sea. Martinique would have been retained in preference to Trinidad, had it been possible; but, as that object was unattainable, was it necessary to recur to the alternative of spending thirty millions more, that ministers might be able to ask themselves, that day twelve-months, how many more years were to pass away before peace could be made? On what terms, it was asked, would the opponents of the treaty consent to a peace? The restoration of the ancient monarchy of France was doubtless a desirable object; but, if the existing government of that country was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and when such a combination did exist, it was able to effect nothing. On the other hand, to have insisted on carrying on the war until France should be reduced within her ancient limits, would have been, on the part of ministers, a criminal waste of blood and treasure. The present peace might not be glorious, but it was one which would secure the substantial interests of the country. The address was carried by 114 against 10.

On the same day a similar address was moved in the House of Commons; which, after considerable discussion, was agreed to without a division.

On the 13th of November, the articles of the treaty with Russia having been laid before the House of Peers, the Earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne.

This address was vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions; and, from the tenor of his lordship's remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place under the administration which had recently been dissolved. The question was carried in both Houses without a division.

When Parliament assembled, after the Christmas recess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer called the attention of the House to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared that the pecuniary affairs of the Sovereign were again deeply in arrear; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the House. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor to the Prince of Wales, advanced a claim on the part of the Prince, for the amount of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list. Mr. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the Prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the Prince. On the 29th of March, 1802, the report of the committee was taken into consideration, when it appeared that a debt amounting to no less than 990,000*l.* had been contracted since the passing of Mr. Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion, this sum was voted by the House: but the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt. Two days after, Mr. Manners Sutton moved for the appointment of a committee, to inquire what sums were due to the

Prince of Wales from the arrears of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall. The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question, he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that House; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which was carried by 160 against 103.

On the 29th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax upon income. He acknowledged the burden of it to be very grievous, though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but, as this impost was originally proposed as a war tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth. On the 5th of April the plan of finance for the year was brought forward. The income-tax had been mortgaged by Mr. Pitt for the sum of 56,445,000*l.* three *per cents.* for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of this tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at 23,000,000*l.*; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of 8,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills into stock, previously to the Christmas recess, was 11,238,062*l.* and the aggregate sum appeared to be no less than 97,934,137*l.* the interest of which was stated at 3,162,000*l.* To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last article to which ministers had recourse at this crisis was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties

combined he estimated at 4,000,000*l.* an excess which compensated for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed and carried into effect several important alterations in the sinking-fund bills of Mr. Pitt. The last, or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt. These two funds he proposed to consolidate, and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now arisen to 2,534,187*l.* and the new to 3,275,143*l.* making together 5,809,330*l.* The debt contracted previously to the year 1786 amounted to something more than 259,000,000*l.* and the new debt amounted to nearly 300,000,000*l.* something less than 40,000,000*l.* having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of 20,000,000*l.* by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about 540,000,000*l.* and the interest amounted annually to the vast sum of upwards of 17,000,000*l.*

The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer soon after brought forward the business of finance relative to the revenue of that kingdom. It appeared, from the statement presented to the House, that the debt of Ireland had arisen, within the last ten years, from 2,300,000*l.* to 36,000,000*l.* paying an interest for the most part of six *per cent.* The deficiency of ways and means, when compared with the supplies, was 1,660,000*l.* which sum he proposed to raise by loan, in addition to a former one of 2,000,000*l.* which the contractors for the English loan had agreed to furnish upon the same terms. Mr. Corry at the same time proposed several new taxes, ne-

cessary to defray the interest of these new loans, which were agreed to.

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truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. The negotiation had been carried on in London, between Lord Hawkesbury, on the one hand, and Louis William Otto, who had been some time resident in this country as a commissary for the exchange of prisoners, on the other; the former, by a departure from the established rules of diplomatic etiquette, having consented to reduce himself to a level with a private citizen of France. It had continued during the whole of the summer; and in its progress many impediments arose, and some curious discussions took place, relative to the liberty of the press in this country, which Buonaparte, fearful that it might be employed to expose his own character, wished to restrain; but with every disposition to concede, as far as possible, Lord Hawkesbury resisted every attempt to encroach on that freedom of discussion, to which much of the excellence of the British constitution may fairly be ascribed. At length the cabinet of Paris, having received Menou's despatches from Egypt, hastened the conclusion of the business; and on the 1st of October the preliminaries were signed by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the Lord Mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the kingdom. At the end of eleven days the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul was brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, who, as well the French plenipotentiary, was drawn through the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. By this treaty Great Britain restored to France and her

allies every possession or colony taken from them during the war, with the exception of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements at Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to become a free port, and Malta was to be restored to the order; but under the express guarantee and protection of a third power, to be fixed upon in the definitive treaty. In order to bring that treaty to a speedy conclusion, Lord Cornwallis was despatched to France. Amiens was the scene of negotiation appointed by the first consul; and his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, received the full power to treat with the British plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion which ensued fresh difficulties were started by France, and fresh demands preferred, which occasioned so much delay that it was supposed by many that war would be renewed. On the 25th of March, 1802, however, matters were finally arranged, and the seal was put to the treaty of Amiens, which differed from the preliminaries only in the following points:—A part of Portuguese Guiana was given up to the French by a new adjustment of boundaries: with regard to Malta, it was stipulated that no French or English language, or class of knights, should be allowed; that one-half of the soldiers in garrison should be natives, and that the rest should be furnished for a time by the King of Naples; that the independence of the island, under the sway of the knights, should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; and that its ports should be free to all nations. It was agreed that the Prince of Orange should receive compensation for his loss of property and of power. Persons who might hereafter be accused of murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy, were to be surrendered to the demands of each of the respective powers.

Thus ended the revolutionary war, in the defeat

of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed of indemnity for the past and of security for the future; and in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest, which had been conceived by the first founders of the French republic, and pursued with unremitting activity by all her successive rulers. By the peace of Amiens a great part of the continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France; and French influence remained predominant from the German Ocean to the Bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her child and champion established his ascendancy; her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded; and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the princes originally confederated against France professed to have in view was attained; on the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress. Her government, it is true, had assumed a new form, less terrific in appearance than the murderous system of Robespierre and his sanguinary associates, but in reality more despotic. A military tyranny, formed out of the elements of Jacobinism, destroyed every vestige of civil liberty, and imposed the most galling and odious fetters on the minds, as well as the persons, of the people. England, indeed, had escaped the yoke to which the powers of the Continent had, in a greater or lesser degree, submitted. She had secured her constitution and her government from the effects of that revolutionary poison which had destroyed so many ancient institutions, and had subverted so many thrones. She had even enlarged her dominions by the acquisition of an important settlement in Asia, which afforded her the long sought for advantage of a safe and commodious

harbour in the Eastern Ocean, and by an island in the West Indies, of consequence more from its relative situation to the Spanish Main, than from its produce or probable revenue. She had also kept inviolate her faith with her allies, and had preserved her national character pure amidst surrounding corruption: but here ends the catalogue of her advantages; in every other point she had completely failed. None of the objects which she had pursued in common with the other powers of Europe had she been able to attain: she had bounteously opened her treasures to those who fought against revolutionary anarchy; she had made every exertion which her spirit could suggest and her resources command; and, had her allies but displayed equal vigour and resolution, their united efforts must have been crowned with success. All ranks and descriptions of men, however, hailed the return of peace with extraordinary marks of joy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Meeting of Parliament—Address—Sentiments on the peace—Debates on the preliminary treaty—On the northern convention—Debts of the civil list—Claim of the Prince of Wales to arrears of Cornish revenues—Repeal of the income tax—Loan—New taxes—Sinking fund—Irish finances—Bank restriction continued—Motions respecting Mr. Pitt—Increase of his popularity—Mr. Abbot elected speaker—Death of Lord Kenyon—Debates on the definitive treaty of peace—Militia augmentation—Vaccine inoculation—Parliament dissolved—French expedition to St. Domingo and Guadaloupe—Mutiny in Bantry Bay—Affairs of Switzerland—Annexation of Piedmont to France—Seizure of the Maltese property in Spain—Buonaparte elected First Consul for life—New constitution in France—Legion of honour—Affairs of France in the West Indies—Despard's conspiracy—New Parliament—Symptoms of hostility between France and England—The British ambassador leaves Paris—Bank restriction renewed—Grant to the Prince of Wales—Messages respecting military preparations in France, and for calling out the militia—Another, announcing hostilities—Debates thereon—Mr. Fox's motion for accepting the mediation of Russia—Motions against the conduct of ministers—Military preparations—Levy en masse—Finance—Volunteer associations—Preparations for invasion by France—Vote of thanks to the volunteers—The Prince of Wales is refused military promotion—Act to relieve Catholics—Attempt to murder made capital—Rebellion in Ireland, and murder of Lord Kilwarden—Ireland placed under martial law, and Habeas Corpus act suspended—Em-

mett and others executed for treason—Capture of St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.—The French expelled from St. Domingo—French expedition to the east—Movements in Europe—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser—War with Holland—Exactions of Buonaparte—Sale of Louisiana—English travellers in France made prisoners of war—Naval operations.

THE second session of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was opened on the 29th of October, 1801, by the King in person, who, in a speech from the throne, announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiation for peace, and declared his satisfaction that the difference which existed with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which the essential rights for which we contended were secured. He then proceeded to state that preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. In the Upper House the address was moved by Lord Bolton; and the Duke of Bedford, in a speech containing much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

In the Lower House Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt, who described it as glorious and honourable. After the continental alliance had been dissolved, he said,

nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us. When it became a mere question of terms, he was much more anxious as to the tone and character of the peace, than about any particular object which should come into dispute. As long as the peace was honourable, he should prefer accepting terms even short of what he thought the country entitled to, to risking the result of the negotiation by too obstinate an adherence to any particular point. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late Secretary at War, avowed his entire disapprobation of the treaty, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. Mr. Sheridan said he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud.

The subject of the preliminary treaty was taken formally into consideration by the Lords on the 3d of November, and a decided opposition to the terms of the peace was expressed by Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Lord Grenville. The latter nobleman, after drawing a parallel between the two contracting parties, and appreciating the acquisitions of France, observed, that on our side we had to boast successes no less brilliant and striking. We had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode invincible. We had captured Malta, occupied Minorca, and shut up the Mediterranean against the navies of France and Spain. In the East Indies we had every thing except Batavia; and that possession would have been ours, but it was not worth the cost of an expedition. We had the Cape of Good Hope; if not the only, at least an important, key to the East. We possessed the most desirable of the West India islands, and on

the continent of South America the valuable settlements of Surinam and Demerara. Colonial acquisitions, if not the main objects of the war, were yet highly essential, as they enabled us to cripple the maritime strength of the enemy by contracting her commerce; and if the continent of Europe could not have been restored to its former state, they ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France. In the West Indies we had ceded all our conquests except Trinidad; and for this we had given in exchange the valuable island of Martinique. In the Mediterranean, where we possessed every thing, we had given up all except Gibraltar. Malta we had surrendered, and had reserved its future protection for subsequent discussion; yet no arrangement respecting that island could replace us in the situation in which we stood before the war. As the treaty did not specify who the protecting power was to be, it would be indecorous in him to say more upon that subject; but, in any contest with that power, he would hold this important fortress as a pledge for our acquiescence in any demands which might be made. Having noticed the unsatisfactory guarantee for Portugal, and the omission of an effectual stipulation for Naples, he observed, that, if we had negotiated on a footing of equality, he saw no reciprocity; all the sacrifices were made on our part, and none on that of the other contracting parties. If the peace was not a measure of necessity, was it, he asked, one of security? In his opinion our danger was greater than ever. Malta, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, all were surrendered; and our only security was the word of the government of France.

The treaty was defended by the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, Earls Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London, who argued that we had entered

into the contest to guard the country against principles which had been designedly propagated for the purpose of overturning the constitution, but which no longer existed to any alarming extent; the cession of Malta could not endanger our security in the Mediterranean, since the isle was to be placed under the guarantee of a third power; and there was no use in maintaining a naval station there, if we could not command the commerce of that sea. Martinique would have been retained in preference to Trinidad, had it been possible; but, as that object was unattainable, was it necessary to recur to the alternative of spending thirty millions more, that ministers might be able to ask themselves, that day twelve-months, how many more years were to pass away before peace could be made? On what terms, it was asked, would the opponents of the treaty consent to a peace? The restoration of the ancient monarchy of France was doubtless a desirable object; but, if the existing government of that country was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and when such a combination did exist, it was able to effect nothing. On the other hand, to have insisted on carrying on the war until France should be reduced within her ancient limits, would have been, on the part of ministers, a criminal waste of blood and treasure. The present peace might not be glorious, but it was one which would secure the substantial interests of the country. The address was carried by 114 against 10.

On the same day a similar address was moved in the House of Commons; which, after considerable discussion, was agreed to without a division.

On the 13th of November, the articles of the treaty with Russia having been laid before the House of Peers, the Earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne.

This address was vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions; and, from the tenor of his lordship's remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place under the administration which had recently been dissolved. The question was carried in both Houses without a division.

When Parliament assembled, after the Christmas recess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer called the attention of the House to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared that the pecuniary affairs of the Sovereign were again deeply in arrear; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the House. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor to the Prince of Wales, advanced a claim on the part of the Prince, for the amount of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list. Mr. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the Prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the Prince. On the 29th of March, 1802, the report of the committee was taken into consideration, when it appeared that a debt amounting to no less than 990,000*l.* had been contracted since the passing of Mr. Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion, this sum was voted by the House: but the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt. Two days after, Mr. Manners Sutton moved for the appointment of a committee, to inquire what sums were due to the

Prince of Wales from the arrears of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall. The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question, he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that House; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which was carried by 160 against 103.

On the 29th of March the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax upon income. He acknowledged the burden of it to be very grievous, though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but, as this impost was originally proposed as a war tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth. On the 5th of April the plan of finance for the year was brought forward. The income-tax had been mortgaged by Mr. Pitt for the sum of 56,445,000*l.* three *per cents.* for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of this tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at 23,000,000*l.*; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of 8,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills into stock, previously to the Christmas recess, was 11,238,062*l.* and the aggregate sum appeared to be no less than 97,934,137*l.* the interest of which was stated at 3,162,000*l.* To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last article to which ministers had recourse at this crisis was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties

combined he estimated at 4,000,000*l.* an excess which compensated for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed and carried into effect several important alterations in the sinking-fund bills of Mr. Pitt. The last, or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt. These two funds he proposed to consolidate, and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now arisen to 2,534,187*l.* and the new to 3,275,143*l.* making together 5,809,330*l.* The debt contracted previously to the year 1786 amounted to something more than 259,000,000*l.* and the new debt amounted to nearly 300,000,000*l.* something less than 40,000,000*l.* having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of 20,000,000*l.* by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about 540,000,000*l.* and the interest amounted annually to the vast sum of upwards of 17,000,000*l.*

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late minister, but he had misapplied them in the government of this country. The House at length divided on Mr. Windham's address, when the majority in favour of the treaty amounted to 276 against 20.

The remainder of the session was occupied by a great variety of public business, among which an important act was passed for consolidating the existing militia laws, and for augmenting that force to 70,000 men, the proportion for Scotland being fixed at 10,000. The sum of 10,500*l.* was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate the small-pox. A reward of 1200*l.* was also voted to Mr. Henry Greathead, for the invention of the life-boat; and 5000*l.* to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders. On the 28th of June, the last day of the session, the new Speaker presented the money bills to his Majesty, and on the day following Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

During the negotiation of the definitive treaty, the French government determined to attempt the recovery of their colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe from the armed negroes by whom they were at present held. For this purpose a strong military and naval force had been for some time preparing at the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and L'Orient; and the British ministry consented to the sailing of the armament before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, on receiving Buonaparte's express assurances that its purpose was to take possession of the colonies, and suppress the insurrection. He sought to quell the revolutionary spirit which his democratic predecessors had propagated in that quarter, and which had animated the negroes

of St. Domingo under Toussaint L'Ouverture, and those of Guadaloupe under Pelagie, to assert and vindicate their claims to liberty and equality, as members of the indivisible French republic. He was desirous to put an end to a state of anarchy, which was pregnant with the most appalling dangers, not only to the French colonists, but to those of every other European power; and the fleet, consisting of eighteen French and five Spanish ships of the line, having on board 25,000 troops under General Le Clerc, put to sea on the 14th of December. Admiral Mitchell, who was then stationed at Bantry Bay, with seven sail of the line, was ordered to follow them, and observe their motions; but, on learning whither they were destined, a mutiny broke out in some of the vessels, which, however, was soon suppressed, and the squadron proceeded to the West Indies, to reinforce the protecting fleets on that station. Fourteen of the ringleaders were capitally condemned, and executed.

Whilst the rest of Europe was enjoying tranquillity, Switzerland became the scene of commotion. A new constitution being accepted by one party and resisted by the other, and bloodshed having ensued, the Helvetic government was induced to solicit the mediation of France; when Buonaparte, availing himself of so plausible a pretext, sent an army into the country, and issued an arrogant proclamation, commanding the senate to assemble at Berne, and to send deputies to Paris; ordering at the same time all authorities constituted since the commencement of the troubles to cease to act, and all armed bodies to disperse. The diet of Schweitz, however, as the supreme representative body of the Swiss union, remained at their post, hoping for the interference of foreign powers; but Great Britain alone manifested an interest in their behalf. An English resident was sent to Constance, empowered

to promise pecuniary assistance if the people were determined to defend their country; but the approach of the French troops had compelled the diet to dissolve; Aloys Reding, and other patriots, were arrested and imprisoned; and the independence of Switzerland, which had been guarantied in the treaty of Luneville, was annihilated by the power whose mediation she had solicited. In September Piedmont was formally annexed to France, and Turin, its capital, was degraded into a provincial city of the republic. In October the King of Spain annexed to the royal domains all the property of the Knights of Malta in his dominions, and declared himself grand master of the order in Spain. This step was supposed to have been taken at the suggestion of the French government. Thus the order of St. John was diminished by the suppression of three langues, those of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre; and thus was the treaty of Amiens vitiated, because that order was now no longer the corporate body to whom the island of Malta was to be ceded in full sovereignty.

Buonaparte, while using every effort to extend his influence abroad, was no less anxious to strengthen his power at home; and a proposal having been made in the Conservative Senate that he should be declared First Consul for life, the question was referred to the people, and carried by an immense majority. A second question, whether he should have the power of appointing his successor, was decided in the affirmative, and he was now an hereditary monarch in every thing but the name. He imposed a new constitution on France, by which he invested himself with the right of making war or peace; of ratifying treaties; of pardoning in all cases; of presenting the names of the other two consuls to the senate; of nominating all inferior officers; of appointing, by his own authority, 40 of

the 120 members composing the senate; and of prescribing to that body the subjects on which alone it was competent to deliberate. The other departments of the state were equally subservient to his will; so that, having utterly destroyed the liberty of the press, he might be said to govern the republic by means of an enormous standing army, and a numerous inquisitorial police. Aware that to the former he was indebted for his present elevation, he had for some time contemplated the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the *Legion of Honour*, and the legislature decreed its establishment. The legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration; each cohort to consist of 7 grand officers, 20 commandants, 30 subordinate officers, and 350 legionaries; the First Consul always to be the chief, and the members to be appointed for life, each with proportionate salaries. Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of the First Consul, was elected Grand Master.

In the West Indies alone was Buonaparte at this period unsuccessful. He had, indeed, recovered Guadaloupe, after a sanguinary resistance, and had at first met with some success in St. Domingo, Toussaint L'Ouverture having been induced to submit under promise of pardon: scarcely, however, had he signed the capitulation, when, on a vague and improbable charge of conspiring against the French government, he was seized in the midst of his family, and with them immediately sent to France. On his arrival, he was, without trial or examination, thrown into prison, where the following year terminated his existence, and it has been asserted that he was privately put to death by order of the First Consul. On the seizure of Toussaint, the negro Generals Dessalines and Christophe, who had also surrendered, justly fearing the fate of their unfortunate colleague, saved themselves by

flight; the insurgents again every where assembled; the climate effectually aided their efforts, and General Le Clerc himself at length fell a victim to its malignity. General Rochambeau succeeded to the command early in November, when a furious and bloody conflict recommenced; the negro generals recovered possession of the whole island, excepting a few maritime towns, of which the French with extreme difficulty maintained possession; and a country of inestimable value, which, by measures of moderation and conciliation, might in all probability have been preserved to France, appeared irrecoverably lost. In Tobago, when intelligence arrived that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms, and determined to attack the British troops under Brigadier-general Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men; but, having gained intelligence of the plot, he seized thirty of the ringleaders, and the French took possession of the island in virtue of the treaty of Amiens. In Dominica a serious alarm was created by the mutiny of an entire regiment of blacks, who put to death Captain Cameron and several other officers; but they were at length totally routed. Whilst these contests prevailed, the French Legislative Body abrogated the decree of the National Convention, abolishing slavery, and the inhuman traffic was renewed with all the encouragement which it enjoyed under the old French government.

Towards the close of the year a treasonable plot was discovered, of which Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, who had distinguished himself in the service of his country, was the head, and indeed the only individual of any consideration in the conspiracy. The object was the death of the King, and the subversion of the constitution; but the means by which these traitorous designs were to be effected were so little adapted to the magnitude of

the enterprise, that it seemed scarcely possible that the design should have originated with any man in a sane state of mind. On the 16th of November the colonel and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers were apprehended at the Oakley Arms, in Lambeth; and on the 7th of February, 1803, the former was arraigned before a special commission for high treason. After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, and in which very honourable testimony was given to the conduct of the Colonel, while in the army, by Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean, he was found guilty, but earnestly recommended to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his character and eminent services. On the 9th the court proceeded on the trials of twelve other prisoners, and, after an investigation which continued till the following morning, the jury returned a verdict of guilty against nine; two were acquitted, and the charge against the other was abandoned. On the 21st Colonel Despard, and the six accomplices not recommended to mercy, were executed with the usual forms in cases of high treason; and thus terminated a conspiracy so unexampled in the weakness and paucity of its means, as to have been incapable of exciting that alarm which would fully justify the severity it was visited with.

The new Parliament assembled on the 16th of November, and on the 23d the session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which the King observed that, in his intercourse with foreign powers, he had been actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace; but that it was nevertheless impossible to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and that he could not be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of those states.

He expressed his conviction that Parliament would concur in the opinion that it was necessary to adopt those means of security which were best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving the blessings of peace. The presage conveyed in this intimation was soon afterwards confirmed by proposals for augmenting the naval and military force of the country. The attention of Parliament until the Christmas recess was chiefly occupied by financial arrangements, and by a bill introduced into the House of Peers by Lord Pelham, for appointing commissioners to inquire into frauds and abuses existing in the naval departments.

Already the communications between France and England portended hostility. The extent of Buonaparte's authority at home only served to render him more impatient of contradiction abroad; and, as he had succeeded in subduing all opposition in his own territories, he imagined that he could as easily silence the voice of reproach in foreign countries. The success, indeed, which had attended all his attempts in the different states of the Continent, seemed to justify this opinion. Having brought his negotiations in Germany, consequent on the peace of Luneville, to a successful termination, he had plundered at his pleasure the ecclesiastical princes of the empire, to indemnify those whose territories he had seized on the French side of the Rhine, and taken care amply to reward those wretched potentates who had displayed the most cowardly subserviency to his interests. Among these the petty sovereigns of Baden and Wirtemberg were raised by him to the dignity of electors, as preparatory to their subsequent elevation to the rank of kings. He had been equally successful in reviving the ancient jealousy between the Prussian monarch and the Emperor of Germany; the former of whom, while intent on the humiliation of a rival

no longer formidable, and on the pursuit of petty schemes of personal aggrandizement, enlarged the influence and power of an implacable enemy, and prepared the way for his own destruction. In Italy, also, Buonaparte had assumed the sovereignty under the denomination of President of the Italian Republic; for such was the title now adopted by the Cisalpine republic. He had united the kingdom of Sardinia and the duchy of Parma to France; and he had taken effectual means for rivetting the chains of Switzerland.

Possessed of power so extensive, and little solicitous to afford proofs of a pacific disposition to the only enemy who had resisted him with effect, Buonaparte betrayed, in all his communications with the British cabinet, an overbearing and insupportable pride. First to Otto, and afterwards to his ambassador, General Andreossi, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of those animadversions which the public writers of Great Britain passed on his character and conduct; and those complaints were reiterated as well by Talleyrand, as by the First Consul himself, to Lord Whitworth, who, in November, 1802, repaired to Paris as ambassador to the French court. In all the communications which took place on this subject, Buonaparte betrayed a petulance utterly incompatible with the new character which he had to support, and a profound ignorance of the laws and constitution of this country. He could not be persuaded that the British government was unable to exercise over the press the same unlimited power, the same boundless tyranny, which he himself exercised over every public writer throughout his vast dominions. It was impossible to make him understand that, in England, the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm; that they could proceed only according to the forms

of law ; and that, if what the law deemed a libel should be uttered or written against the first potentate in Europe, he must, in order to punish the offender, have recourse to the same modes of proceeding which are prescribed to Englishmen themselves, under similar circumstances. From general complaints he descended to particulars ; and, in the autumn of 1802, directed his agent, Otto, to prefer charges against certain English public writers ; and against Peltier, who conducted a journal in the French language, entitled *L'Ambigu*. Although, as Lord Hawkesbury had pertinently observed, in his instructions to Mr. Merry, who was then at Paris, the French press poured forth constant libels against the English government ; libels, too, authorized by the French cabinet ; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Buonaparte at Hamburgh, had violated the neutrality of the Senate, and had compelled them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government in the Hamburgh paper ; although Buonaparte himself had publicly uttered similar libels ; and although, to use the words of Lord Hawkesbury, it might, indeed, with truth be asserted, that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty had been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government ; so ardent was the desire of the British ministers to gratify Buonaparte, and so averse were they from the adoption of any line of conduct which could have even a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities between the two countries, that they instructed the attorney-general to file a criminal information against Peltier. The cause was tried before Lord Ellenborough, on the 21st of February, 1803, and the defendant was convicted ; but the renewal of hostilities was allowed to secure him from punishment. At the very time

when this trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities unavoidable. At the latter end of February Lord Whitworth had an interview with Buonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself as personally to insult the British ambassador, and to threaten his government in the presence of other diplomatic characters. On this occasion he openly avowed his ambitious designs, and clearly developed his views upon Egypt, whither he had despatched Sebastiani, a Corsican officer, in the ostensible character of a commercial agent, to seize every opportunity for promoting the French interest in the Levant; he boldly justified his unprincipled usurpations in Switzerland, Piedmont, and Italy; and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, as the *sine qua non* of continued peace. By the treaty of Amiens, the King had stipulated to restore the island within a given time to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence and neutrality by the principal powers of Europe. Circumstances, however, tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, by depriving it of a considerable portion of its revenue, had subsequently arisen, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides, the stipulation had been made with a reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had experienced a material change by the fresh acquisitions of territory which Buonaparte had afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured. His intentions, too, to dismember the Turkish empire, and to monopolize the commerce of the Levant, objects against which specific provisions were made in the treaty, were too notorious not to call for measures of adequate precaution on the

part of Great Britain, whose ministers, indeed, were almost to blame for having carried a system of conciliation and concession to so great a length. At last the inutility of every attempt to induce Buonaparte to listen to the claims of justice became so obvious, that the British ambassador received orders to return to England; and he accordingly left Paris on the 12th of May, 1803: the declaration of the British cabinet was published on the 18th.

After the Christmas recess, the restriction of the Bank from payments in specie was again renewed, but not without considerable opposition, particularly in the House of Lords; and on a message from the King, recommending the embarrassed state of the Prince of Wales to the consideration of Parliament, a proposition was moved by Mr. Addington for granting to his Royal Highness, out of the consolidated fund, the annual sum of 60,000*l.* for three years and a half. This sum, though the Prince expressed his gratitude for the liberality of Parliament, was not sufficient to meet all his engagements, and Mr. Calcraft moved that he should be enabled immediately to resume his state and dignity; but it was rejected by 184 to 139, and the original proposition passed unanimously.

On the 8th of March his Majesty sent a message to Parliament, announcing that very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland; and that he had therefore judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was added that, though the preparations referred to were avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance were then subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, the result of which must be uncertain, it was necessary to make such provision as circumstances might require. An address was unanimously voted,

and a resolution was afterwards passed for raising 10,000 additional seamen, including 3,400 marines. A subsequent message to Parliament announced the King's intention to call out the militia; and, after some succeeding weeks of suspense, it was stated in another, on the 16th of May, that the King had recalled his ambassador from Paris; that the French minister had left London; and that his Majesty had given directions for laying before the House of Commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as would afford the fullest information at this important conjuncture. The message was taken into consideration in the House of Lords on the 23d of May, when Lord Pelham moved the address. The only question was, he observed, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war was established by the correspondence now on the table. Without going minutely into these documents, he should briefly advert to the principal points in dispute between the two governments; and, first, with respect to Malta. It would be seen from the papers on the table that up to a given period his Majesty's ministers had taken every step to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty relating to this island. It was about the 27th of January that the French government began to press, in a very peremptory manner, for its evacuation; and it was about that period that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanation of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed, by the French government. Circumstances then existed which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the First Consul from the period when the treaty was concluded; and in the course of this view the plain and intelligible inference was, that he had pursued one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire to preserve the peace of the two

countries. The answers returned by ministers to the complaints of the French government regarding the liberty of the press, the residence of the Bourbons, and the countenance afforded by this country to French emigrants, would be found in the correspondence; and he entertained a confident expectation that their language on those subjects was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation. They had shown, his lordship said, the utmost reluctance to resort to any measure which might hasten a renewal of hostilities; but the conduct of the French government could no longer be tolerated, consistently with the honour, dignity, and safety of this country. War, then, had become inevitable; and it was a war in which the national spirit ought to be exerted in every way which would demonstrate, to a proud and insolent foe, that, while the people of England were not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they were sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance. The Dukes of Cumberland and Clarence, Lords Mulgrave, Melville, Spencer, and others, spoke in favour of the motion, which was carried by 142 against 10.

The question was discussed in the Commons on the same day, and continued on the following. Lord Hawkesbury in a very able speech enumerated all the subjects of complaint against France; and concluded with moving an address, assuring his Majesty of the just sense that House entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to his people the blessings of peace, and of their strong feelings of indignation that these endeavours had been frustrated by the restless spirit of ambition and domination in the government of France. Mr. Erskine combated the statements of Lord Hawkesbury, and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an

amendment, limiting the address to assurances of co-operation, and an expression of the satisfaction with which the House received his Majesty's declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

In supporting the address Mr. Pitt expressed his conviction that some system far more vigorous than any which had yet been adopted would be found necessary, both in our finances and in the preparation for national defence. On the provisions to be made for these two paramount objects it would principally depend, in his estimation, whether we could effectually disconcert the favourite projects, and disappoint the main hopes, of our enemies. If they indulged themselves in any expectation of success in the present contest, it was built chiefly on the supposition that they could either break the spirit or shake the determination of the country by harassing us with the perpetual apprehension of descent upon our coasts ; or that they could impair our resources, and undermine our credit, by the effects of an expensive and protracted contest. To defeat the first of these purposes it was not, in his judgment, sufficient to make those naval and military preparations which would prevent any invasion from being ultimately successful (an event which he trusted he was justified, in common with others, in considering as utterly impossible) ; but to make such vigorous and extensive arrangements for national defence as might convince every individual that nothing was omitted which could enable us at once to meet and repel the danger, at any moment, and in any quarter. In order to defeat the second object, that of wearing out our resources, Mr. Pitt trusted the House would, from the beginning, form a system of finance, not only with a

view to the expense which might be necessary in the first year of the contest, but to the possibility of its being protracted to as long a period as that which had been lately terminated ; that they would consider fully what, on the probable scale of the war, would be the whole extent of the burdens necessary to be imposed on that supposition. He was persuaded that it could only be by providing, at the outset, means adequate to the whole extent of these purposes, that we could, in fact, prevent the ultimate amount of our expenses from being unnecessarily, and perhaps intolerably, augmented ; or that we could ensure the best chances, either of bringing the contest to a speedy conclusion by convincing the enemy of our ability to maintain it, or of meeting its continued exigencies, if necessary, without the annual recurrence of growing and accumulated embarrassments. He trusted, therefore, that ministers would feel the necessity of bringing both these points under consideration with all practicable despatch ; and that, if possible, not even a fortnight might be suffered to elapse without enabling Parliament to adopt such measures as would convince both France and the world that we had, from that hour, provided the means of supporting the force, and of defraying the expenditure, which might be necessary for the maintenance of our internal security, and for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war to any period to which it could be reasonably expected to extend. He was aware that these measures could not be effected without extensive personal sacrifices and great additional burdens, which must, in a certain degree, affect the ease, convenience, and even comfort of many classes of society ; but, under the present circumstances, a weak and timid policy would, perhaps, scarcely even postpone the moment when they would become indispensable for our existence.

and would infallibly expose us to the certainty of a similar struggle, at no distant period, without those means which we now possessed, and with a diminished chance of finally conducting it to a successful issue. The address was agreed to by 398 against 67.

Mr. Fox, three or four days afterwards, moved an address to his Majesty, praying that he would avail himself of the disposition manifested by the Emperor of Russia to mediate between this country and the French government, which might not only lead to the speedy and honourable termination of the present contest, but might conduce to the general tranquillity and safety of Europe. Among the advantages which must result from this mediation, Mr. Fox particularly urged the consideration that, if this country should be obliged to prosecute the war for the attainment of any object which that powerful and esteemed sovereign should approve, Great Britain would have the strong support afforded by his approbation, which would carry with it the opinion of the world. Lord Hawkesbury admitted that an offer to mediate between Britain and France had already been made by Russia. The impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments to explain distinctly the points of mutual dispute; and he had accordingly proposed that the Russian ministers at London and Paris should interpose their good offices for facilitating this explanation; but at the time this offer was made Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, and, looking to an immediate termination of the discussions, ministers considered the offer as too loose and too general to be then adopted. At the same time they did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburg, and they were as little desirous of concealing from the House, that with reference not only to the particular points in

dispute between the two governments, but to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. Mr. Fox, considering this explanation as perfectly satisfactory, withdrew his motion.

At this time the existing administration were highly obnoxious to what was called the Grenville party, and Mr. Pitt and his friends began to manifest towards them unequivocal marks of coldness. On the 2d of June Earl Fitzwilliam moved, in the Upper House, a series of resolutions censuring the conduct of ministers in withholding from Parliament information on the numberless aggressions and insults offered by the French government to this country since the treaty of Amiens, and in holding out the prospect of a permanent peace at a period when they must have been aware that the continuance of the relations of amity was, in the highest degree, precarious. Lord Mulgrave, to the infinite mortification of ministers, moved, as an amendment, the adjournment of the House: both motions were, however, rejected by vast majorities. A similar motion was made on the following day in the House of Commons by Colonel Patten, and with similar success. On the 6th of June Earl Fitzwilliam moved a number of resolutions, varying in form, but in substance the same as those before rejected; the last of which stated that his Majesty's ministers had proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of the House, and incapable of administering with advantage the public affairs of the country, in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger. The first of these resolutions was negatived by 86 against 17, and the others without a division.

The remainder of this session was chiefly occupied by subjects of finance, and with devising the means

of providing for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion. The first and most obvious measure was to render the militia, the constitutional defence of the country, as effective as possible, and a bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Commons, by the Secretary at War, on the 20th of May, which passed through its several stages without any material opposition. But the militia being considered inadequate to the defence of the realm, a message from the crown was sent to Parliament on the 18th of June, stating that his Majesty considered it important for the safety and defence of the nation that a large additional military force should be forthwith raised and assembled, and it was recommended to both Houses to take such measures as should appear to be most effectual for accomplishing this purpose with the least possible delay. A bill was immediately brought into Parliament for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of the army of reserve, to consist of 50,000 men for England, and 10,000 for Ireland, to be raised by ballot, and confined to the defence of the united kingdom: the officers to be appointed from the regular army, and the half-pay list: all persons from the age of eighteen to forty-five to be liable to serve, with the exception of those who were exempt from the militia ballot, and such volunteers as were enrolled previously to the date of the last message of his Majesty: all poor persons having more than one child under ten years of age were also exempt: the persons composing this force to be allowed to volunteer into the regular army. On the 6th of July this bill obtained the royal assent. But these measures of defence, however important, were only the precursors of one of the most gigantic magnitude, being no less than arming and training the whole effective male population of Great Britain. This project was presented

to the consideration of Parliament on the 18th of July, and passed into a law, by receiving the royal assent, on the 27th of the same month. This general enrolment, denominated the levy *en masse*, was divided into four different classes: the first comprehended all unmarried men between the ages of 17 and 30; the second, unmarried men between 30 and 50; the third, all married men between 17 and 30, not having more than two children under ten years of age; and the fourth, all under the age of 55, not comprised in the other descriptions. The different classes, who were to be trained and taught the use of arms in their respective parishes, were, in case of actual invasion, liable to be called out by his Majesty, in the orders specified, to co-operate with the regular army in any part of the kingdom, and to remain embodied until the enemy should be exterminated or driven into the sea.

On the 13th of June the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the budget; he proposed to raise, by an increase of the customs' duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, about 2,000,000*l.* annually; and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, 6,000,000*l.* more. He then presented a plan of a tax on income, imposing a duty on land of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and ninepence in the pound, to be paid by the tenant, together with a tax of one shilling in the pound on all other species of income from 150*l.* upwards. The nett produce of this revived property tax was calculated at 4,700,000*l.*, and the whole product of the war taxes at 12,700,000*l.* annually, to expire six months after the return of peace. In addition to these grants the other taxes were continued, and the whole of the supplies voted by Parliament for the service of the year 1803 amounted to upwards of 41,000,000*l.*

At this time the preparations for invading Britain,

made by France, called forth a simultaneous burst of loyalty and patriotism from all classes; and in a very brief interval upwards of 400,000 men in arms appeared ready to defend their native coasts. So numerous, indeed, were these voluntary armed associations, that it rendered the act for raising the levy *en masse* perfectly superfluous. Buonaparte viewed with astonishment this extraordinary display of national energy; and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the intention of carrying them into effect is thought to have been secretly abandoned. In addition to the grand fleet at Brest, which was supposed to be destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports and gun-boats had been ordered to be built, with the greatest expedition, in the French ports, under the idea that some thousands of them might force their way across the Channel, in spite of the British navy; and, in the course of the year, a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France might think proper to employ in this desperate enterprise.

During the discussions in the House of Commons, Mr. Windham had taken occasion to express himself in terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps of the country, whom, on one occasion, he termed the depositaries of panic. To obviate any supposition that these sentiments were generally concurred in, Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of August, moved the thanks of the House to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the country. He also moved that returns of the different volunteer corps be laid before the House, in order that they might be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the journals. Both these motions were agreed to unanimously; and, on the 12th of August, this

session was closed by a speech from the throne, on which occasion his Majesty expressed his satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; assuring the House, at the same time, that as strict a regard would be paid to economy in the public expenditure as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs of the enemy. At this interesting period the Prince of Wales addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging upon him the propriety of investing him with an efficient military rank, and of placing him in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the nation. In reply to repeated applications on this subject, his Royal Highness was informed, that, should the enemy so far succeed as to effect a landing, he would have an opportunity of showing his zeal at the head of his regiment; but, upon public grounds, his Majesty could never permit the Prince of Wales to consider the army as a profession, or to allow of his being promoted in the service.

In the course of the session just terminated an act was passed to relieve the Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st of the reign of his present Majesty. An important addition was also made to the criminal law of the country: by an act introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Ellenborough, and on that account called the Ellenborough Act, any person guilty of maliciously shooting, cutting, or stabbing, with an intent to commit murder, although death should not ensue, was made subject to the punishment of death. The same penalty was also attached to all attempts to discharge loaded fire-arms with an intent to kill or wound.

About this time Ireland once more became the theatre of rebellion, the instigators of which were a band of political enthusiasts, whose director and principal mover was Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents, the brother of Thomas Eddis Emmett, who took a prominent part in the rebellion of 1798. He had been so unguarded in his conduct, while the late disturbances existed, as to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the *habeas corpus* act was suspended; but on the removal of that obstacle he returned to Ireland, and arrived there in December, 1802. The death of Dr. Emmett, his father, one of the state physicians in Dublin, had placed the sum of 2000*l.* at his disposal; and with this exchequer he proposed to himself the subversion of the government of Ireland. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Russell, Dowdall, and Coigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from 80 to 100, yet these infatuated men were so sanguine as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would, at their bidding, pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country, while the first object of the insurgents in the metropolis was to secure the seat of government, and the principal persons engaged in its administration. For some days previous to the fatal explosion, information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people; and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion that a *rising*, as it was termed, was in agitation. On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of July, the day appointed for this momentous enterprise, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great south road to Dublin; the city continued to fill during the whole of the day; and towards evening the populace began to

assemble in vast numbers in St. James's Street and its neighbourhood, without having any visible arrangement or discipline. The next object was to arm the body thus collected, for which purpose pikes were deliberately placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants during this alarming scene were panic-struck, and, seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and implored the protection of Providence. About nine o'clock the concerted signal, that all was in readiness, was given by a number of men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited until Mr. Clarke, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and who had that afternoon apprized government of the intention of the insurgents, was shot at and dangerously wounded. About this period a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now sallied forth from the obscurity of his headquarters in Marshalsea Lane, and excited his followers to action. Before they had reached the end of the lane in which they were assembled, one of the party discharged his blunderbuss at Colonel Browne, who was passing along the street, when the ball unhappily took effect. From this period, it is remarkable that nothing more is heard of Emmett, or any of his brother conspirators, till we find them beneath the power of the offended laws.

The circumstance from which this commotion derived a degree of consequence far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of turbulence in a disaffected country, and in an ill-

regulated metropolis, was the dreadful catastrophe of the Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Viscount Kilwarden. This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat, near four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbance being conveyed to him, his lordship, who, ever since the period of the outrages in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for Dublin, where he expected to find protection and safety. Unfortunately the carriage appeared in Thomas Street immediately after the opening of the depot, and was surrounded by a mob of armed persons. His lordship announced his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain. Both he and his nephew fell to the ground, pierced with innumerable wounds, but the lady was permitted to pass through the whole rebel column to the castle without molestation. About half past ten o'clock the rebels were in their turn attacked, and their mighty projects were all discomfited, in less than an hour, by about 120 soldiers.

The entire failure of the rebellious enterprise of Emmett and his associates reduced their proclamations and decrees to the standard of waste paper; and every precaution was immediately taken by the government to restore the public tranquillity. The Privy Council issued a proclamation, calling on the magistrates to unite their exertions with those of the military power, and offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery and detection of the miscreants who murdered Lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered to those who should discover the murderer

of Colonel Browne; and a notice was issued by the Lord Mayor, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep within doors after eight in the evening. At the same time, bills for suspending the *habeas corpus* act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with uncommon rapidity through their different stages, in the Parliament of the united kingdom. Arrangements were also made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and every measure which prudence could suggest was immediately adopted, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman Catholics, with Lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and, after expressing their utmost abhorrence of the enormities committed on the 23d of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation. By these and similar exertions the flame of rebellion was completely extinguished.

A special commission being issued for the trial of the rebels, Edward Kearney, a calenderer, and Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man, nearly seventy years of age, were executed in Thomas Street, the focus of the insurrection, and several others experienced a similar fate; but the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq. who was arraigned on the 19th of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence. On the following day this misguided young man, only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, was executed on a temporary gallows in Thomas Street. In the ensuing month, Mr. Thomas Russell also expiated his offences under the hands of the executioner. Coigley and Stafford were arraigned on the 29th of October; but, in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were

had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners.

In the West Indies, the most vulnerable part of her dominions, France did not long retain her possessions. An expedition despatched from Barbadoes on the 20th of June, under Lieutenant-general Grinfield and Commodore Hood, captured the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago; and in September the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, also surrendered. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon likewise contributed to swell the conquests of Britain; and to these successes may be added that of compelling the French to abandon the valuable colony of St. Domingo. The war with the insurgent negroes had been attended with horrid cruelties on both sides; but so long as the French fleet was master of the sea, their posts on the coasts were effectually defended: on the rupture with England, however, they were reduced to great difficulties; several places successively fell into the hands of the insurgents; and Fort Dauphin was taken by the English. The Cape was soon afterwards completely invested by Dessalines, with whom Rochambeau at length entered into a negotiation, proposing to give up the place on being allowed to carry off the garrison. At this juncture the blockading squadron entered the roads, and a capitulation was signed, by which all the ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to France were to be surrendered to the British, who were to receive the garrison as prisoners of war. Thus the French lost all their possessions in the island, except the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that part which formerly belonged to Spain; and the negro chieftains issued a proclamation, declaring the island free and independent.

Buonaparte, aware of the precarious tenure by which France held her colonies in the west, deter-

mined, if possible, to secure her dominions in the east, and with this view, as soon as hostilities appeared inevitable, an armament was fitted out at Brest, consisting of a strong naval force, under Admiral Linois, on board of which were placed 6000 troops. This expedition sailed soon after the breaking out of the war, with orders to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and to place that colony in such a state of defence as to be enabled to resist any attack that might be made upon it by the English. In Europe also the French armies were immediately put in motion, and the consular government, anxious to justify their conduct to the French nation and to Europe, published a declaration, dated the 20th of May, on the causes which led to the renewal of the war with Great Britain. Orders were issued to increase the forces of the republic to 480,000 men; the army of Italy was considerably augmented; and large detachments were pushed forward upon Tarentum, and on all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples which lay on the Adriatic. During the protracted negotiations reinforcements were ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. On the 25th of May General Mortier summoned the electorate to surrender to the republican army, Buonaparte formally professing that he should occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, and that this violation of the constitution of the Germanic empire was only for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens. Although it was impossible that the electorate could oppose any effectual stand against the power of France, the Duke of Cambridge was sent over from England as commander-in-chief in that country, and proclamations were issued, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms to rally round

their standard. At the latter end of May, however, a body of 10,000 French troops passed the river Ems at Mippen, and entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been previously evacuated. General Walmoden, to whom the command of the Hanoverian troops was intrusted, having collected an army of 18,000 men, determined to make a stand, first on the Hunte, and afterwards on the Weser; but at the moment when General Mortier had advanced into the vicinity of Nieuborg, a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of Hanover, entreating him to suspend his march; to which he consented, on condition that the invaders should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the electorate, and that the Hanoverian army should engage not to serve against France or her allies during the war, or until regularly exchanged. On the 5th of June the French took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled the enemy to remount their cavalry and recruit their finances, they were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, and, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the commercial Hanse Towns of Hamburgh and Bremen, were enabled to levy considerable sums of money on those opulent cities, under the shape of loans. In consequence of these events, the British government blockaded the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, which was in some degree a retaliation on Germany for permitting the violation of its territory. This measure occasioned such distress to Hamburgh and Bremen, that they appealed to the King of Prussia, as protector of the neutrality of the northern part of the empire; but he declined to interfere, and the French were thus left to pursue their exactions with impunity.

Contrary to her wishes and her interests, Holland was compelled to take part with France. On the 17th of June it was announced to Parliament that the King had communicated to the Batavian government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided the French government would do the same; but as this had not been complied with, and their forces still occupied the Dutch territory, he had judged it expedient to recall his minister from the Hague, and to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the Batavian republic. Buonaparte also compelled the Italian republic to take part in the war; and he drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open a manner, that it rested entirely with the generosity of Great Britain whether they should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility. The supplies to his treasury derived from these sources were augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for 3,000,000 of dollars. Early in the year he made a singular overture to Louis the XVIIIth at Warsaw, for the resignation of that monarch's claim to the throne of France; which was met by a most decided refusal.

One of the first acts of the French government, after the declaration of war by England, was a step which had never before been resorted to among civilized nations, and which must always be regarded as an act of atrocious barbarity and injustice, savouring more of malice than mere political hostility. It appeared from an article published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French government, that two English frigates had captured two merchant vessels in the Bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations; in consequence of which a decree, signed by the First Consul, was issued, directing that all the English, from the age

of eighteen to sixty, or persons holding any commissions from his Britannic Majesty, then in France, should immediately be considered prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic who had been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty, previously to any declaration of war. In virtue of this decree, all the nobility, commercial travellers, and others, subjects of the King of England, who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Buonaparte in France, or were engaged in travelling through any of those countries occupied by the French armies, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular limits as prisoners of war upon their parole ; which violation of the law of nations, and of neutral hospitality, was further aggravated by a perfidious promise previously made to the English visitors, that they should enjoy the protection of the government, after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence at Paris.

The naval campaign of the present year, in Europe, was not particularly distinguished. On the 14th of September, however, the port and town of Granville were successively attacked by Sir James Saumarez ; on which occasion the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels, intended for the invasion of England, destroyed. On the same day the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by Captain Owen, in the *Immortalité* frigate, with the *Theseus* and *Sulphur* bombs. The Dutch ports, from the *Zandvoort*, in the vicinity of Haarlem, to *Scheveningen*, were also severely bombarded on the 28th of September, and many vessels destroyed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Negotiation for Mr. Pitt's accession to ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Speech and address—Martial law in Ireland—Army estimates—Volunteers—Indisposition of the King—Motion for inquiry into the conduct of the Irish government—Irish Bank restriction—Extension of Irish militia service—Motions for investigation into the naval and military force—Formidable opposition to ministers—Finance—Change of administration—Slave trade—Additional force act—Corn bill—Civil list augmentation—India budget—Parliament prorogued—War in India—Loss and recapture of Gorée—Capture of Surinam—Naval operations—Attack on the Boulogne flotilla—Failure of the Catamaran project—Repulse of Admiral Linois—Rupture with Spain, and forcible detention of treasure ships—Plot to overthrow the Consular government—Fate of the conspirators—Murder of the Duke D'Enghien—Complaints against British envoys—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—Buonaparte elected Emperor of the French—The Emperor of Germany declared Emperor of Austria—Dispute between France and Russia—Preparations for hostilities—Convention between France and Genoa—The Blacks expel the French from St. Domingo, and declare Dessalines Emperor of Hayti.

THE Addington administration had been regularly opposed by Lord Grenville and his friends in the Upper House, and by Mr. Windham in the Commons ; and the Whigs, or old opposition party, who had supported the treaty of Amiens, conceiving that the country had been again unnecessarily involved in war, felt also little cordiality towards them.

Under these circumstances a proposal was made to Mr. Pitt for his return to office, and the negotiation had made some progress, when it was broken off in consequence of an intimation that, in the general arrangement for a new administration which he should feel it his duty to submit to his Majesty, he should include the Lords Grenville and Spencer, with other noble and honourable persons who had disapproved of every measure of Mr. Addington's government, and who were, in effect, adverse to the whole spirit and principle of his administration.

Parliament assembled on the 22d of November, 1803; when his Majesty, after alluding to the measures adopted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and adverting to the successes in the West Indies, and the suppression of the Irish rebellion, stated that a convention had been concluded with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen with that power. In reference to the threat of invasion, the King declared that, as he and his people were embarked in one common cause, it was his fixed determination, if occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in defence of the constitution, religion, laws, and independence. The usual addresses were agreed to without opposition. In the Commons it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to some observations from Mr. Fox, that the offices of mediation offered by the court of Russia had been accepted with readiness and gratitude on the part of his Majesty's servants; but, although discussions of the greatest moment were commenced in consequence, yet they had not assumed such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France.

Shortly after the commencement of the session, Mr. Secretary Yorke brought in a bill to continue two acts; the one for suspending the *habeas corpus*

act in Ireland, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. This measure, though it excited much discussion, was carried through both Houses without producing a single division. The debate which arose on the 9th of December, on the motion of the secretary at war to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country. The regular force proposed to be voted for the public service amounted to 167,000 men; the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland to 110,000; and the volunteer corps to upwards of 400,000 rank and file in the united kingdom. For the volunteer force of the country, of which about 45,000 served without pay, it was proposed to vote the sum of 730,000*l.* for one year. On this occasion Mr. Windham inveighed with great acrimony against the military system adopted by ministers; and pointed out the inferiority of volunteer associations and bodies of reserve to a regular army of genuine soldiers, disciplined for offensive as well as defensive warfare. Mr. Pitt, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, defended the system; but he was desirous that all the volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and, whenever it could be accomplished, in brigades: he proposed to give to every battalion the assistance of a field-officer and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army: and with respect to the number of days for which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion that about fifty would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding one. The expense arising from the field-officers and adjutants he estimated at about 160,000*l.*; and that of the allowance to such volunteers as might, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between 3 and 400,000*l.* more, making an aggregate of about 500,000*l.*: and if,

for that sum, a force of nearly 400,000 men could be maintained in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed that this would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure. As to the sea fencibles, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force ; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who, being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy, nor permanently taken from their families.

Lord Castlereagh also made an animated reply to the objections urged by Mr. Windham against the army of reserve and the volunteer system. Out of the 35,000 already raised for the army of reserve, 7500, he said, had entered for general service. The military force of the united kingdom was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, 130,000 men ; and in Ireland 50,000. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 84,000 men ; the regular force to 96,000, of which 27,000 were for limited service, and 69,000 disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force, of which 340,000 men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain ; and in Ireland it amounted to 70,000 ; to which were to be added 25,000 sea fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force at this crisis stood, therefore, at 615,000 rank and file ; and if, to this number, officers of every description were added, the whole amount would not be less than 700,000 men. The number of ships of war amounted to 469 ; and, in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of 800 craft of all descriptions, was

nearly completed. Since the commencement of hostilities there had been issued 312,000 muskets, 16,000 pistols, and 77,000 pikes. The field-train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from 356 to 460 pieces of ordnance, completely appointed; and the stores had been nearly doubled. Mr. Fox applauded the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers; but he could never bring himself to believe that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the other hand, stated that Lord Moira, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and Lord Cathcart, the commander in Ireland, were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance that they would conduct them with confidence against an invading host.

The army estimates having been agreed to, Parliament, on the 20th of December, adjourned to the 1st of February, 1804, on which day a bill was introduced for consolidating and explaining the existing laws relative to the volunteers. In the course of the debates to which it gave rise, Mr. Pitt proposed that this description of force should be subjected to stricter discipline and more active service, that it might be more nearly assimilated with the regular army; but his amendments were rejected, though not by a large majority.

On the 14th of February it was announced by an official bulletin that the King was much indisposed, and the public sympathy was excited by an apprehension of the return of the malady by which he had been formerly afflicted. The attack, however, was so slight, that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions; and on the 9th of March all apprehension was dissipated by the assurance of the Lord Chancellor, that he had conceived it proper

and necessary to have a personal interview with the Sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesitation to aver that the result of all that took place on that occasion fully justified him in announcing his Majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission.

The conflict of parties still continued with much animosity. On the 7th of March Sir John Wrottesley moved that the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, 1803. The debate was protracted till near five o'clock on the following morning, when the motion was lost by 178 to 82 voices. When the restriction of the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland was submitted to the House of Commons on the 13th of February, it occasioned an animated debate, and called forth a maiden speech from Lord Henry Petty, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which his lordship displayed considerable talent. A message from the King, on the 26th of March, announced a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain; and bills passed both Houses to enable his Majesty to accept the offer, and to raise 10,000 additional militia in Ireland.

A systematic attack on the ministry was at this time pursued by all the parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This opposition was particularly displayed in the progress of the bill to consolidate and explain the laws relative to volunteers: the course of debate on this subject, however, was interrupted by a motion, of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, on the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected more than any other to try the strength of ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation. On

the 15th of March, after expressing his expectation that part of the documents which it was his intention to call for would be granted by ministers without resistance, Mr. Pitt moved for an address, requesting that his Majesty would order to be laid before Parliament an account of the number of ships in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed. He made his motion from a conviction, that, if the papers were granted, it would appear that our naval force was, at the present moment, much inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. If these documents were granted, his next motion would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given, by the lords of the admiralty in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun-vessels to be built. The board of admiralty had considered gun-boats peculiarly serviceable for resisting invasion; yet, in the course of a year, they had built only twenty-three; while the enemy, in the same period, had constructed nearly 1000. From the period when hostilities were renewed, our navy ought to have been increasing instead of diminishing; notwithstanding which, government had only contracted for the building of two ships of the line in the merchant yards, when it was well known that, during a war, the building of ships was always nearly suspended in the King's yards, which were then wanted for repairing the damages sustained in the service. It was also worthy of remark that in the first year of the late war our naval establishment was increased from 16,000 to 76,000 seamen; whereas, having begun the present war with an establishment of 50,000, we had augmented them in the course of the first year to only 86,000 men.

Mr. Tierney, treasurer of the navy, objected

strongly to the production of the papers required, and was at a loss to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the House, when no cause, no single fact, was brought forward to support it; when every possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service over which the noble lord presided; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity, were displayed in every quarter; and when the best officers were employed in every direction with the highest honour to themselves, and the most decided advantage to their country. Mr. Sheridan delivered a warm eulogy on the character and conduct of Earl St. Vincent, the first lord of the admiralty; whilst Mr. Fox and others, taking a different side, supported the motion for inquiry, declaring that it would terminate to the honour of the admiral. The debate was continued for several hours, when, on a division, the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt's motion, 130; against it, 201.

On the 23d of April Mr. Fox moved for a committee to revise the several bills which had been proposed for the defence of the country, when Mr. Pitt again took a comprehensive view of its actual state. There was but one point on which he and Mr. Fox differed on this occasion; the power vested in the King by the constitution of calling out all the subjects of his realm to defend the country in case of invasion. Mr. Fox was, perhaps, the first statesman who ever ventured to question the royal prerogative in this particular; for nothing is more clearly laid down by our law writers than that the power of calling on every description of his subjects to repair to his standard, when the country is about to be invaded, is vested in the King. Mr. Pitt asserted and maintained this principle against Mr. Fox, but on all other points those rival statesmen agreed; and the result of this concurrence of sentiment was a strong division, in which the

ministers had a majority of only 52 ; 204 having voted for the motion of Mr. Fox, and 256 against it. Two days after this discussion another debate took place on the same subject, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Secretary Yorke, for the House to resolve itself into a committee on a bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act. This motion was resisted by Mr. Pitt ; and, on a division, there appeared, in support of the ministerial plan, 240 ; against it, 203 ; leaving to ministers a majority of only 37. Mr. Addington then determined on retiring from administration, after he had adjusted the financial concerns of the year. The supplies were estimated at 36,000,000*l.* for Great Britain alone ; and the ways and means consisted of certain additions to the war taxes, a loan of 10,000,000*l.* and a vote of credit of 2,500,000*l.* On the 12th of May it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt was nominated his successor.

The majority of the nation heard with joy that the King had confided to so able and experienced a statesman as Mr. Pitt, the task of forming a new administration, when the contest with France was becoming more arduous, and the difficulties of the country appeared on the increase ; particularly as it was understood to be his wish to unite, in the public service, as large a portion as possible of the weight, talent, and character, to be found in public men. Whether he was sincere in his desire to secure the aid of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox may be doubted, because it has been said that he could bear “ no rival near his throne,” and that he preferred the aid of good second-rate *man of business* talent ; but he certainly professed to wish for their co-operation, and the personal objection of the King to Mr. Fox appeared alone to prevent it : Lord Grenville refused to come into office without

him, but Mr. Pitt did not make it the ground of withholding his own services. Under the new arrangement the following members of Mr. Addington's administration retained their stations: the Duke of Portland, president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmorland, lord privy seal; the Earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control. Lord Hawkesbury passed from the office of foreign affairs to the home department. The new members were Mr. Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Camden, secretary for the department of war and colonies; and Lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. The government of Ireland remained unchanged, with the exception of Mr. Wickham, chief secretary, who was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean. The following new appointments took place in the subordinate offices of government: Mr. William Dundas, secretary at war; Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and Lord Charles Somerset, joint paymasters of the forces; the Duke of Montrose and Lord Charles Spencer, joint paymasters-general; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturges Bourne, secretaries to the treasury.

The first subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament after the change of ministry was brought under discussion by Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the 30th of May, pressed the consideration of the abolition of the African slave trade. After an animated debate, the motion, which was supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, was carried by 124 to 49 voices. A bill was consequently brought into Parliament, limiting the latest period at which ships were to be allowed to clear out from an Eng-

lish port for this traffic to the 1st of October, 1804; and the third reading was carried, on the 28th of June, by 69 against 33. In the House of Lords, however, the bill was rejected on the 30th of July, on the ground that the late period of the session would prevent the parties interested from attaining complete justice.

A plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the general reduction of the additional militia, was introduced into Parliament on the 5th of June, by Mr. Pitt, under the designation of the *additional force act*. This measure aimed at an establishment not merely to meet the present circumstances of the country, but to serve as an instrument for the immediate improvement of the existing system, and to supply a sufficient resource to the regular force, should an opportunity offer of employing our troops in foreign warfare. The bill was strenuously opposed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, and others, but it was ultimately carried through the Lower House by small ministerial majorities; there appearing, on the last division—for the bill, 265; against it, 233. In the Upper House the measure was sanctioned by 154 against 69.

On the 20th of June the difficult subject of the corn laws was brought under discussion. It has been maintained that the whole system is prejudicial to the public weal, and that these laws should be altogether repealed, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level; but, in consequence of a report of the House of Commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From this report it appeared that the price of corn, from 1791 to 1803, had been irregular; but had, upon an average, yielded a fair price to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating in-

dust, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded; and for this purpose, although, within the period of the last thirteen years, no less than 30,000,000*l.* had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain, it was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation—a measure that had not been resorted to for nearly thirty years. With this view a bill was brought into Parliament, allowing exportation when the price of wheat was at or below 48*s.* per quarter of eight Winchester bushels, and importation when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed 66*s.* The bill passed through the House of Commons without any formidable opposition, but in the Lords some few petitions were presented against it. Earl Stanhope called it “A Bill to starve the Poor,” and moved that it be rejected. The measure, however, passed into a law.

The House of Commons, on the 2d of July, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to the augmentation of the civil list were referred; when the arrears thereof were found to amount to 590,000*l.* This excess of expenditure, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the House voted the discharge of arrears then due, amounting to about 230,000*l.* With respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by Parliament. These charges amounted to 135,000*l.* and related to fluctuating expenses:

many of them arose from the war; others from increased law expenses, and the multiplication of private bills. The House assented to the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer almost without opposition.

The India budget was produced in the House of Commons, on the 10th of July, by Lord Castlereagh; from whose statement it appeared that the debt had increased within the last year 1,229,821*l.* and the assets 1,959,396*l.*, leaving the net improvement for the year 729,575*l.*

Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July, when the King expressed a hope that the exertions of this country might, by their influence on other nations, lead to the re-establishment of a system that would oppose an effectual barrier to those schemes of unbounded ambition which threatened to overwhelm the continent of Europe.

The events of the war in the peninsula of Hindostan, the successful termination of which served to dissipate the apprehensions that had been felt for the stability of the British empire in the east, and to remove the necessity of weakening the army at home by detaching troops to India, must now be adverted to. The peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poonah, having been expelled from his dominions by Holkar in 1802, concluded a subsidiary treaty with the English company on the last day of the year; and to effect his restoration a detachment of troops was placed under the command of Major-general Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, who entered the Mahratta territories in March, 1803, and advanced rapidly to Poonah, which was re-entered by its sovereign on the 13th of May. Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were in the mean time negotiating an alliance with Holkar, of which the governor-general, the Marquis Wellesley, having obtained evidence, it was resolved to

employ the whole military force to break so dangerous a confederacy.

When the period arrived for commencing hostilities, General Wellesley, who was opposed to the two latter chieftains, marched against the fortress of Ahmednugur, which he reduced on the 12th of August, and then advanced to Aurungabad. On the 23d of September he gained a complete victory at Assaye over a greatly superior force: the Bombay army had also been successful in the Guzzerat, and gained possession of the territories of Scindia in that province. In September and October the town and province of Cuttack were wrested from the Rajah of Berar, by a force under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt; and in the north General Lake, at the head of the Bengal army, reduced the strong fortress of Ally Ghur, after driving to a precipitate retreat the forces commanded by Perron, a French officer in the service of Scindia, who in consequence lost his reputation and influence in India. The British general then advanced towards the city of Delhi, and gave battle to the army of Scindia, commanded by Louis Bourquien, over which, after a severe conflict, he obtained a complete victory, and released the Mogul Emperor Shah Aulum, who put himself under the protection of the English. General Lake next reduced the fort of Agra, and on the 1st of November defeated the remainder of Scindia's forces, at Laswaree. Meantime General Wellesley entirely defeated the Rajah of Berar on the 28th of November, in the plains of Argaum, which victory was followed by the capture of the strong fortress of Gamil Ghur. These successes compelled the rajah to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded on the 17th of December, by which he ceded the province of Cuttack, with some other territories, and engaged never to take into his service the subject of any state at war with the English. A treaty

with Scindia also speedily followed, in which he agreed to cede all his forts, territories, and rights in the **D**ouab, and in the districts northward of the dominions of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Judpoor, together with Baroach in the Guzzerat, and Ahmednughur in the Deccan. Thus was the French interest in India annihilated, a powerful confederacy against the English dissolved, and the dominion of the company consolidated. The thanks of Parliament were voted to his excellency, and to all who had shared in the dangers and glories of the contest; while the King conferred upon General Lake the title of Lord Lake, and on General Wellesley the order of the Bath.

The first military operation of any importance in 1804 occurred in the English settlement at Gorée, on the coast of Africa, which was taken by a French force, under the command of Chevalier Mahé, in January, and recaptured in March by a small expedition under Captain Dickson. On the 5th of May the rich and important colony of Surinam surrendered to Major-general Sir Charles Green; and, although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition was obtained with little loss.

The British naval operations of this year consisted almost entirely of exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade; and in attacks upon the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Boulogne, for the purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that depot; it was, however, impossible to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. In the month of August a general movement on the opposite coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire; and at Boulogne, in particular, an extraordinary degree of activity prevailed. Of the

various armed vessels collected in that immense depot, a greater number was brought out into the bay than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array, under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were vigorously attacked by the British squadron upon that station: the firing was tremendous, and its duration favoured the belief that the long-threatened invasion was at this time to be certainly attempted. Under the influence of this impression, the greatest exertions were made for the public safety; and, in the early part of September, the alarm began to subside: in the beginning of October, however, about 150 of the enemy's vessels again ventured outside the pier. At this period ministers were induced to sanction a scheme which had been submitted to them by some American projector, and was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels, filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels, called catamarans, were to be fastened to the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly, in a dark night, escape detection. Fire-ships of different constructions were also to be employed in the projected attack. The most active officers were distributed in different explosion vessels, and the whole was placed under the orders of Admiral Lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, with instructions to cover the smaller force by his powerful squadron. On the 2d of October his lordship, with a formidable fleet, anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne; and so strongly did ministers feel interested in the result, that Mr. Pitt, and several other members of the cabinet, were induced to witness the scene from

Walmer Castle. At a quarter past nine at night the first detachment of fire-ships was launched, but the vessels of the flotilla opened a passage as they approached, and so effectually avoided them, that they sailed to the rear of the enemy's line without doing any damage. At half past ten the first explosion-ship blew up, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded, but with no better effect: at length, after twelve of these ships had exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock in the morning, when the English smaller vessels withdrew, without the loss of a man. The enemy's loss, according to their own account, was twenty-five killed and wounded. Thus terminated the catamaran project, on which much time, expense, and ingenuity, had been fruitlessly bestowed.

As soon as intelligence of the renewal of the war between Great Britain and France arrived in the East Indies, the French Admiral, Linois, withdrew from the roads of Pondicherry, and for some time carried on a predatory warfare against the English in that part of the globe: he captured several East India ships, and, making a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), plundered that settlement. He next collected his force, consisting of the *Marengo*, of 80 guns; the *Semillante* and *Bellepoule*, of 40; a cutter and brigantine, of 18; and a corvette, of 28 guns; and stationed his squadron in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the determination to cruise in that latitude till the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet from Canton. On the 5th of February this fleet, consisting of fifteen of the East India company's ships from China, twelve country ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a brig, passed Macao Roads, under the command of Captain

Dance, the senior officer, when the Portuguese vessel and one of the China ships parted company. On the 14th the Royal George discovered the squadron under Admiral Linois, when the commodore instantly hoisted the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sun-set the enemy was close upon the rear of the company's ships, but he desisted from any hostile operation during the night. At day-break on the 15th he was seen about three miles to windward, when the vessels under the command of Captain Dance hoisted their colours, and offered him battle. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the commodore, apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, made the signal to attack each of the hostile ships in succession, which was correctly performed. The Royal George, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit; the Ganges and Earl Camden both opened their fire as soon as their guns could take effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy stood away to the eastward, and Captain Dance pursued them for two hours, when, fearing that a longer pursuit might endanger the property confided to his care, he anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the straits on the following day. Thus did the gallantry of a fleet of British merchantmen put to flight a French admiral, commanding ships of war, superior in force and in men, and preserve from capture a property estimated at 1,500,000*l*. On the arrival of the fleet in England, rewards were distributed with a liberal hand, by the East India company, to the various commanders and their brave crews; and the wounded, as well as the representatives of the few who fell in the engagement, were munificently rewarded; while the Sovereign conferred upon the commodore the honour of knighthood.

After a long negotiation between the courts of Madrid and London, begun in the autumn of 1802, and continued till towards the close of the present year, during which time Spain had maintained an ostensible neutrality, while she served as the secret ally and vassal of France, the British plenipotentiary found it necessary to quit Madrid. While this negotiation was pending in the Spanish capital, Admiral Cochrane acquainted the Admiralty that preparations on a large scale were making in the port of Ferrol, so that in a few days a formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and that he had no doubt but the Spanish government waited only for the arrival of a fleet of frigates, containing treasures from South America, to commence open hostilities. On receipt of this information, Captain Moore, with four frigates under his command, was ordered to cruise off Cadiz, for the purpose of detaining such Spanish ships of war, homeward bound, as contained bullion or treasure; and on the 5th of October he fell in with four large frigates, which, on finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, without regarding his summons to shorten sail. He fired a shot across the fore-poop of the second, which had the desired effect of bringing them to a parley, when the Spanish commander was informed that Captain Moore had orders to detain his squadron; that it was his wish to execute that duty without bloodshed, but the determination to surrender must be made instantly. The answer being unsatisfactory, a close battle ensued: in less than ten minutes the Spanish ship *La Mercedes* blew up; and the others struck in succession, after sustaining considerable loss. Except the second captain of the *Mercedes*, and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*, all on board perished.

An afflicting calamity attended the loss of this

vessel. A gentleman of rank, who was going to Spain in that ship with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate before the action commenced, and they had there the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe, which, in an instant, severed from them their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a fortune, the accumulation of five-and-twenty years. The squadron was from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and contained upwards of 4,000,000 of dollars, of which about 800,000 were on board the Mercedes; and the merchandise on board the frigate was also of great value. The Admiralty was much blamed for not having sent such a force to intercept these vessels as would have allowed their commander to submit at once, without impeachment to his honour; whereas the equality of strength rendered a sanguinary combat inevitable. The negotiations at Madrid were not immediately broken off in consequence of this event; but after some time spent in fruitless attempts, on the part of Great Britain, to obtain a full disclosure of the existing engagements between France and Spain, his Catholic Majesty declared war against England on the 12th of December.

In the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected in France, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of the former. It also appeared that General Moreau had held secret interviews with Pichegru since his return from England to Paris, and had, to a certain extent, been made acquainted with his plans. On the arrest of General Pichegru, he underwent an examination before the prefect of the police, the object of which was to ob-

tain a confession that he returned to France under the direction of the French princes, and that his intention was to replace the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. After a second examination he was committed to the tower of the Temple, where he remained for about a month, when on a sudden the government announced that he had terminated his existence by suicide: it was, however, said, that while he was in prison attempts were made to extort confessions by the application of torture, and that in order to conceal the marks, and to avoid the exposure which must have taken place on his trial, he was secretly put to death: he would, however, have been so certain of a public condemnation, that the probability of his assassination is scarcely supported by the arguments adduced. In the same prison of the Temple, also, a British naval officer, Captain Wright, shortly afterwards died, under circumstances which gave rise to the suspicion that his death proceeded from the hands of violence. He had been the fellow-prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, and, after escaping with that officer from the Temple, had served with him in Egypt and Syria, and had already been named in the reports as the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. On the 15th of May, while cruising in the Bay of Quiberon, he was becalmed and made prisoner by the French gun-boats, and did not long survive his captivity.

The trial of the other parties implicated in the plot took place in Paris, before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, when Georges, and nineteen others, were condemned to death. General Moreau, whose high reputation in the army rendered it unsafe to sacrifice him, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but was permitted to transport himself to America; to a few pardon was extended; and, on the 25th of July, Georges, and

eleven, others were guillotined at the Place de Greve.

Buonaparte, as he approached nearer to the authority and dignity of a sovereign, appeared resolved to annihilate, if possible, the relics of that unhappy race which had, for so many centuries, given monarchs to France, and with this view was guilty of an act which excited the detestation of all Europe, and will remain a foul blot on his memory. The Duke D'Enghien, the worthy representative of the House of Condé, had, since the continental peace, lived in retirement at the town of Ettenheim, in the Electorate of Baden. In this neutral territory Buonaparte resolved to seize him; for which purpose General Caulincourt, with a body of cavalry, entered the electorate on the 15th of March, and, coming unawares upon the destined victim, secured him and several of his friends without difficulty, and even without opposition. The duke was immediately conveyed to Strasburg, and thence, without any interval of repose, to Paris, where he was conducted to the same prison, the Temple, which had been the last scene of his sovereign's miseries: he was not, however, permitted to remain here, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where he arrived on the 20th; and that same evening, exhausted with fatigue, he was dragged before a military commission, when a pretended trial ensued, and in two hours, without any evidence being produced, the illustrious prisoner was found guilty of having borne arms against the French republic, of having conspired to restore the monarchy, and of being an accomplice in the late conspiracy. In the night, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, Murat, with four other general officers, among whom were his own brother, Louis Buonaparte, and Duroc, the Consul's secretary, arrived at the castle, under an appropriate escort of Mamelucs, and the

duke was shot by nine Italian grenadiers. He died with the spirit of a Christian soldier, expressing his satisfaction that his executioners were not Frenchmen.

This event was first made known in papers printed out of France ; for it was not until after several days that the Paris newspapers contained any narrative on the subject. In private, where men could venture to express an opinion, every Frenchman declared his abhorrence of the act. In foreign countries the murder was stigmatized in becoming terms ; and, in some, solemn funeral obsequies were performed in honour of the victim. Several notes on the illegal seizure of the Duke D'Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs ; among which the most spirited were those presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

To divert public attention from this atrocity, the French government announced the discovery of another plot, in which they implicated the British minister at the court of Munich, Mr. Drake, and the envoy to the Elector of Wirtemberg, Mr. Spencer Smith : a mass of documents and intercepted letters were produced, from which it appeared that Mr. Drake had incautiously given some attention to the representations and projects of Mehée de la Touche, who, having obtained access to him, and made a tender of his services, reported to the French government the result of his intrigues. The correspondence was communicated to the Elector of Bavaria, who declared it impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court, and the British envoy of course quitted the Bavarian territories : Mr. Spencer Smith was also under the necessity of leaving Stutgard. As the papers respecting this transaction were widely

distributed, it became necessary for the British government to vindicate itself, and a circular letter was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to the foreign ministers in London, which, in repelling the imputation of countenancing projects of assassination, maintained the right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may be at war. The exercise of this right was fully sanctioned by the actual state of the French nation, and by the conduct of its government, which had, ever since the commencement of the war, maintained a communication with the disaffected in his Majesty's dominions, and had assembled, on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels, for the purpose of aiding their designs. And if any accredited minister at a foreign court had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view to obtain information of the projects of the French government, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had uniformly been considered as having a right to do. These arguments were combated in a circular note, authorizing the French envoys to declare to the governments where they resided that Buonaparte would not recognise the English diplomatic body in Europe so long as they were not restrained within the limits of their functions.

Shortly after the attempt to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, the French government most daringly infringed that very law. On the 25th of October Sir George Rumbold, the English *charge d'affaires* in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized at his country house near Hamburg by a party of French troops, and conveyed to Paris, imprisoned in the Temple, and released only on signing a parole not to return to Hamburg, or reside within a certain distance of the French territories. The senate of

Hamburg appealed to the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, on this violation of their territory, and an application was made by the British minister for foreign affairs to the Prussian cabinet; but a remonstrance from that quarter had already been made with success for the liberation of the envoy, and he was conveyed from Cherbourg, by a flag of truce, on board the *Niobe* frigate, which carried him to Portsmouth, after in vain applying for the restitution of his papers.

Buonaparte, encouraged by the general state of things, proceeded to ascend the last step on the ladder of ambition, and, when all the previous preparations had been made, addresses were presented to him by the legislative and municipal bodies, and by the different armies, in the months of March, April, and May, beseeching him to become Emperor of the French. No extreme of adulation could exceed that by which these addresses were marked: a man, whose hands were still running with the blood of an innocent and virtuous Prince, was held up as a model of virtue; and the people, over whom a military tyranny held despotic sway, were represented as supremely happy under his mild and free government. On the 18th of May a decree was finally passed by the senate, abolishing the constitution which the senators and consuls themselves had so recently sworn to observe and maintain inviolate; and declaring Napoleon Buonaparte Emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. The new emperor then addressed a letter to his bishops, in which he ascribed his elevation to Providence, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches on the glorious occasion. The bishops kept pace in their adulation with the military and civil bodies, and framed prayers adapted to the new order of things; while, to crown the whole, the Pope was ordered to

attend the ceremony of the coronation, and to place the crown on the head of his "dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, who has signified his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction." This ceremony took place on the 19th of November, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris; the same church in which, with more zeal, the Parisians had, a few years before, worshipped a naked prostitute, as the Goddess of Reason, in obedience to the command of Buonaparte's friend and predecessor, Maximilian Robespierre.

The assumption of the imperial dignity by Buonaparte gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe; and the time had now arrived when the Germanic body was no longer to be considered as united under one head.

In the month of August the Emperor Francis issued a decree, by which his title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Austria. The Council of State declared the object of this measure to be "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe." The emperor further urged, that, in conferring upon his family an hereditary imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and of France in the present day. This event was hailed with undissembled joy by France and Prussia; and when it was announced to the diet of Ratisbon, it excited no animadversion, except from the King of Sweden, who considered this change so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it should be laid before the diet as a subject for deliberation. No tribute could have been more flattering to Buonaparte than this concession, which not only made the sovereign, hitherto considered as the first in Europe in point of dignity, more recent in

the creation of title than himself, but even recorded his example as one of the motives of the conduct of the Emperor Francis.

The renewal of the war on the Continent had been some time confidently expected, and the appointment of Lord Granville Leveson Gower as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg served to strengthen the opinion that another continental alliance was on the *tapis*. On the 5th of May the Emperor of Russia presented an energetic note to the diet of Ratisbon, on the seizure of the Duke D'Enghien, expressive of his astonishment and concern at the event; to which the French minister replied that the First Consul felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor on a point which did not concern his interest; and that if his Majesty intended to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, there was no need of empty pretences. Two months elapsed before a reply was made to this paper; but on the 21st of July M. D'Oubril, the Russian *charge d'affaires*, complained that it was by no means an answer to the note he had delivered. An important correspondence ensued, during which the King of Sweden appeared to be animated with a resolution to support the principles of the laws of nations, and to make common cause with the Emperor Alexander.

The Emperor of Russia's appeal to the diet of Ratisbon had little effect on the Germanic body. The King of Prussia evinced no disposition to resist the aggressions of Buonaparte; and the majority of the other states were fearful of the renewal of a contest, in which they might risk more than they could hope to gain. The Emperor Alexander, in warmly remonstrating against the usurping spirit of France, had insisted upon the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples and the north of Germany by the French, and the indemnification of the King of

Sardinia. The refusal of compliance occasioned the Russian resident to demand his passports; and both parties made preparations for a renewal of hostilities. Austria, in the mean time, was employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late war, and in improving the condition of her military establishments.

Whilst the situation of the continental powers would not permit Buonaparte to direct his whole military force to the invasion of England, he spared no effort to acquire the means of meeting her navy on more equal terms. He had now at his disposal the fleets of Spain; and, by a convention concluded on the 20th of October, he obtained from Genoa, in return for some commercial advantages, the service of 6000 seamen during the war, and the use of the harbours, arsenals, and dock-yards. Thus the port of Genoa was virtually ceded to him, under an engagement that the Ligurian republic should, at its own expense, enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be immediately constructed.

In St. Domingo, the negro chief, Dessalines, who had succeeded Toussaint, following the example of Buonaparte, dignified himself with the title of Emperor of Hayti, the native name of the island, and formed an imperial court, with all its etiquette and appendages. In the course of the year the blacks obtained entire possession of the French part of the island, sacrificing to their revenge all the white inhabitants who had not made a timely escape.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Negotiations with Russia—Letter from Buonaparte, proposing conciliation—Mr. Addington raised to the peerage, and joins the ministry—Other appointments—Opening of Parliament—King's speech—Supply—Budget—Debate on the dispute with Spain—Motion to repeal the additional force bill—Bill to continue the Habeas Corpus suspension in Ireland—Slave trade—Catholic claims—Vote of credit—Proceedings against Lord Melville—Resignation of Lord Sidmouth and the Earl of Buckinghamshire—Illness of Mr. Pitt—New coalition against France—Commencement of hostilities—Surrender of General Mack—Buonaparte enters Vienna—Advances into Moravia—Movements in Italy—The Archduke Charles falls back towards Vienna—State of the Russian forces—Battle of Austerlitz—Armistice—Return of the Russians—The Archduke Ferdinand defeats a corps of Bavarians—Treaty of Presburg—Treaty between France and Prussia—French fleets put to sea—Attempts on the West India islands—Lord Nelson's pursuit—Sir Robert Calder's engagement with Villeneuve—Victory of Trafalgar, and death of Lord Nelson—War in India—Its termination—Marquis Cornwallis appointed Governor-general—His death.

DURING the Parliamentary recess Mr. Pitt was sedulously employed in strengthening the connexion which subsisted between this country and the court of St. Petersburg ; and the foundation was laid for a new confederacy against France, as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for carrying it into effect. While this intercourse was carrying on, ministers were surprised by a letter, written by

Napoleon's own hand, and addressed to his Britannic Majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of First Consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets, and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. After adverting to his recent elevation to the throne of France, and lamenting the unnecessary effusion of blood, he said he considered it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation; for, though peace was the wish of his heart, war had never been inconsistent with his glory. As it had never been customary for the English Sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister, intimating his Majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stating the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until he had communicated with the powers of the Continent with whom he was engaged in confidential connexions and relations.

To strengthen the hands of government, Mr. Pitt found it expedient to renew his connexion with Mr. Addington; and that gentleman, having been called up to the House of Peers by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, was, on the 14th of January, 1805, appointed to succeed the Duke of Portland, as president of the council. At the same time Lord Mulgrave was appointed secretary for foreign affairs in the place of Lord Harrowby, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. On the 15th the session of Parliament was opened by his Majesty in person. The speech from the throne announced that the preparations for invasion were still carried on by France with unremitting activity; that Spain, under the control of the

French government, had issued a declaration of war against this country ; and that the pacific communication from France had been met by a corresponding disposition on the part of his Majesty. The usual addresses passed unanimously in both Houses.

On the 23d of January, 120,000 men, including marines, were voted by the House of Commons for the service of the navy, for the year 1805 ; and a sum, not exceeding 2,886,000*l.*, for the payment of the men. At the same time the sum of 2,964,000*l.* was granted for victualling, and 4,680,000*l.* for wear and tear of shipping, &c. The number of men actually employed in the navy at this time amounted to 108,000. On the 4th of February the secretary at war moved the army estimates of the year, which amounted to 12,395,490*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for 312,048 men, under the different heads of service. In the budget, which was opened on the 18th, the minister stated the joint charge of supplies for Great Britain and Ireland at 44,500,000*l.* Among the ways and means were a loan of 20,000,000*l.* for England, and 2,500,000*l.* for Ireland ; several new war taxes were imposed ; an augmentation of one-fourth was laid on the property tax, and of one-half on the duty on salt. This being strongly objected to, as likely to be injurious to the fisheries, considerable modifications were made in their favour.

The papers relating to the dispute with Spain became the subject of a discussion which continued for two days, the 11th and 12th of February. Mr. Pitt entered into a luminous defence of the conduct of government, which was, however, severely reprobated by Mr. Grey, who considered the language of the cabinet, in the first instance (during Mr. Addington's administration), as too tame, irresolute, and indecisive ; and, at last, after Mr. Pitt came into power, as too precipitate and too violent. He moved various resolutions conformable with these

sentiments, which, after a long discussion, were rejected by 313 votes against 106.

The next subject of importance that engaged the attention of Parliament arose out of a motion made in the Peers by the Earl of Darnley, and in the Commons by Mr Sheridan, for the repeal of the additional force bill; a measure which, it was contended, had, in the course of the last eight months, raised no more than 1295 men, of whom 343 only had been applicable to general service. This motion, which produced very elaborate and spirited debates, was lost in the Lords by a majority of 68, and in the Commons by 140.

A bill to continue the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland was proposed in the Commons on the 8th of February, and passed; an amendment, moved by Sir John Newport, for a committee to examine documents, and report on the necessity of such suspension, being rejected by 112 to 32. The abolition of the slave trade was again proposed, and negatived by the small majority of 77 against 70. Petitions from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, praying relief from civil disabilities, gave rise to very interesting discussions; but the minister declared that existing circumstances were unfavourable to their claims, and they were rejected by considerable majorities. On the 19th of June, in consequence of a royal message, relative to negotiations pending with some of the continental powers, a sum not exceeding 3,500,000*l.* was granted to his Majesty, to enable him to enter into such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigencies of affairs might demand. On the 12th of July Parliament was prorogued by commission.

In the course of this session proceedings were instituted against a member of administration, which strongly engaged the attention of the public. Amongst the measures for the reformation of the

public expenditure, meditated or resolved upon by the Addington administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent; and a bill was passed in 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose. This bill originated in a great degree with Earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty, a situation to which, on Mr. Pitt's return to power, Lord Melville was appointed. In the mean while the commissioners had produced several successive reports, one of which, the 10th, appeared to implicate the new first lord of the admiralty, who had, while he filled the office of treasurer of the navy, retained in his hands large sums of the public money, contrary to law. This report Mr. Whitbread brought under the consideration of the House of Commons in April, observing that the commissioners had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot to bring to justice those whom they had exposed. The report involved not only Lord Melville, but Mr. Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, Mr. Mark Sprott, a stockbroker, and many others. In exhibiting a charge against Lord Melville, he did not accuse a mere unprotected individual: that nobleman had, for a period of thirty years, been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and had exercised a most extensive influence; he had many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and, though not personally present, he had, no doubt, powerful friends in the House who would be found ready to undertake his defence. Mr. Whitbread then referred to the act of 1785, of which Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was the supporter, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy; and to the order of council, by which his salary was advanced from 2000*l.* to 4000*l.* a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments, which he might before have derived from the public money lying in his

hands. The charges were classed under three heads : first, the having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of Parliament ; second, conniving at a system of speculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible ; and, third, his participation in that system. To the honour of public men, said Mr. Whitbread, charges like this have seldom been preferred ; and it is a singular circumstance that the only instance of a similar charge, for a great number of years, was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold by the noble lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India. With respect to the first charge, it appeared from the report that there had been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the treasurer of the navy's department to the amount of upwards of 600,000*l.* a year. When Lord Melville was asked a plain question as to the appropriation of this money, he, as well as Mr. Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies ; but by-and-by the paymaster began to recover his recollection and confessed, that from the year 1786, down to the period at which he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers. When the commissioners inquired a little further, he had the assurance to tell them that they had no right to interfere in his private affairs. Lord Melville, in a letter to the commissioners, acknowledged the fact of advances having been made to him ; but said that he could not give the other information required, because he could not disclose state secrets, and because he was not in possession of the accounts of advances made to other departments, having himself committed them to the flames ; and not only had the noble lord destroyed the papers, but he had actually lost all recollection of the whole affair !

The second charge against Lord Melville was, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. Trotter did not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Mr. Coutts, his private banker; but said it was more convenient for the money to be there than in the Bank of England, and more secure: and for the truth of this opinion he appealed to Lord Melville—to Lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785! to Lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposes still stricter limitations in 1786! For what purpose, however, Mr. Whitbread asked, was there so constant a fluctuation in Mr. Trotter's account at Coutts's? and why such perpetual drafts for money, in the name of Mr. Trotter? At the time that he was anxious for the safety of what was passing through his hands, was it always lodged at Coutts's, allowing that to be the place of fittest security? No, it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the Stock Exchange. No less than 34,000,000*l.* of the public property had passed through Lord Melville's paymaster's hands; and, had Mr. Trotter's speculations failed, it was not to him, but to his lordship, that the public had to look for redress. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burdens ever laid upon them, Mr. Trotter, and his silent discreet broker, Mr. Mark Sprott, were placing their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage; and Lord Melville never once inquired into his paymaster's proceedings. On the third part of the subject (the suspicion of criminal participation) Mr. Whitbread said that Lord Melville had found Mr. Trotter clerk to the navy pay-office; he made him his paymaster, and in a short time his agent. In this situation Lord Melville had pecuniary concerns with him to a considerable amount, but was unable to tell the commissioners whether the

advances made to him by Mr. Trotter were from his own or the public money. The truth was, that Lord Melville knew, when he first patronised him, that, though a man of good family, he had no property but what was derived from his salary: it was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend that his lordship could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving thirteen resolutions, founded on the circumstances which he had developed.

Mr. Pitt, in a long and able speech, remarked that there was no allegation in the report, or even in the speech of Mr. Whitbread, that any loss to the public had been sustained by the transactions under consideration. He admitted that the subject was of a grave and solemn nature, and that if, in a great money department, irregularities had been committed, though unattended with loss, it might be the duty of the House to set a mark upon such proceedings; but all the circumstances of this case were not before them in the report, and, till they were investigated, the House could not be in a situation to come to any vote. On the face of the accounts, 100,000*l.* was the whole amount of the advances to Lord Melville. It was known that, of all the sums of 160,000,000*l.* which had passed through the hands of his lordship, every farthing had been regularly accounted for; and it would be found that, of the 100,000*l.* which, on the face of the account, was paid to Lord Melville, many of the drafts were, in reality, payments for public services. If this could be made out, as he was informed it could, it was of itself a conclusive argument for further inquiry; he therefore moved that a select committee be appointed to consider the 10th report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, and the documents therewith connected; that they examine

the same, and report their opinion thereon to the House. At the suggestion of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question. Mr. Tierney said, that, during the time he was treasurer of the navy, he felt no inconvenience from a compliance with the act of Parliament, and held that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against Lord Melville. After a number of observations from the Attorney-general, Mr. Canning, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Castlereagh, in favour of a select committee, and from Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, in support of the resolutions, the House divided, when there appeared 216 votes for, and 216 against, Mr. Whitbread's motion, and the Speaker gave his casting vote in its favour.

On the 10th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced to the House of Commons that Lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, which his Majesty had accepted. Mr. Whitbread said that, had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with Lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument, attached to the situation which he had resigned; but he thought it so necessary that his lordship should be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his Sovereign, that, before any other proceeding, he should move an address to the throne, praying his Majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever. Mr. Whitbread asked whether Mr. Pitt was prepared to give a pledge to this effect, and whether Mr. Trotter had been dismissed? Mr. Canning replied that he had, but he did not think

that the case of Lord Melville, which, at the most, amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed; and, after a very animated conversation, Mr. Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved that the resolutions of the former night be laid before his Majesty by the whole House, and on the following day they were presented accordingly.

On the 6th of May Mr. Whitbread moved for the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of privy counsellors, when Mr. Pitt said he had reason to believe that the measure was considered, generally, as expedient; and he had therefore felt it his duty to recommend it. He had not given this advice without a bitter pang, but he could not suffer feelings of private friendship to interfere with what he found to be the declared sense of a majority of the House. Mr. Whitbread then inquired whether Lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the Crown? and, being answered none but for life, he withdrew his motion.

The Commissioners of Naval Inquiry had, in the early progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches arising out of the 10th report; and Mr. Whitbread now gave notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment, which was met, on the part of Mr. Robert Dundas, son of Lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble lord should be previously admitted and heard by the House. Leave having been obtained from both Houses, his lordship, escorted by the sergeant at arms, advanced within the bar on the 11th of June, and entered upon his defence. He solemnly asserted that he never knew that Mr. Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation, and declared that he had felt highly indignant at the charge that such transactions had been conducted with his privacy, and that Mr. Trotter had enjoyed the advan-

tage of his (Lord Melville's) knowledge of the confidential secrets of government. His lordship as positively denied his participation in the profits of Mr. Trotter: he admitted that, when the money was drawn for naval purposes, he had suffered him to place it in the house of Coutts and Co. until it should be wanted; but that he had ever given him power to draw money from the Bank indiscriminately was untrue. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in Coutts's hands, but he had never considered it as a clandestine or unlawful proceeding; and the reason he had not directly disclaimed any share in those profits, when examined before the committee, was because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood, and there was a doubt in his own mind whether he might not unintentionally have received what was his own property from unlawful profits. His lordship referred to two sums of about 10,000*l.* each, the circumstances relative to which he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose; though he affirmed that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of 20,000*l.* for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not till within the last six weeks that he knew Mr. Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of 10,000*l.* his lordship said, when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless, and not from the most remote apprehension of danger from their existence. He could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended; he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment; and he did not yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country.

Mr. Whitbread then said, the excuse offered by Lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Mr. Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He argued on the suspicious circumstance of refusing to give any account of the two sums of 10,000*l*, and declared that if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Windham, and any other person of equal integrity, he should, in case they acquitted him, feel satisfied. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Bond objected to an impeachment as cumbrous and expensive, and moved, as an amendment, that the Attorney-general be directed to prosecute Lord Melville for the several offences which appeared to have been committed by him. The motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of 77, and Mr. Bond's amendment adopted by 238 to 229 voices : it was, however, ultimately determined, on the 25th of June, that the mode of prosecution by impeachment should be resorted to; and Mr. Whitbread was appointed manager, with directions to acquaint the Lords on the following day therewith. On this occasion Mr. Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by a criminal prosecution.

The British cabinet was still in a divided state ; and the conflicting sentiments of its members threatened to produce a partial change in the ministry, had no subject of paramount interest arisen to call them more strongly into action. It appears that, soon after the Easter recess, Lord Sidmouth suggested the propriety of removing Lord Melville from the privy council ; but Mr. Pitt, wishing to avoid that measure, conceived that both Parliament

and the country would be satisfied with the noble lord's resignation of his office as first lord of the admiralty. Neither party was disposed to yield, and Lord Sidmouth, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Mr. Vansittart, expressed their determination to throw up their several appointments; but this extremity was for the present averted by the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council, and the vote of impeachment which afterwards passed against that nobleman. However, on the 5th of July, Lord Sidmouth went out of office; and his example was followed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. These noblemen were succeeded by Earl Camden and Lord Harrowby, while Lord Castlereagh was appointed to the foreign department, the office of first lord of the admiralty having been previously conferred on Sir Charles Middleton, who was called to the Upper House, under the title of Lord Barham.

The domestic events of this summer were by no means such as to assist Mr. Pitt in bearing up against the attacks of disease with which he had long been assailed. For more than four years he had laboured under all the inconveniences resulting from a weak stomach, and the consequent failure of appetite; and it will be easily conceived that mental anxiety is peculiarly calculated to aggravate the effects of such a disorder. This anxiety the unprosperous state of affairs on the Continent tended further to increase. The continued encroachments of Buonaparte, who had crowned himself King of Italy at Milan, and annexed Genoa to France, had roused the powers of the Continent to resistance, and a treaty between Russia and England had been signed at St. Petersburg on the 11th of April, to which Austria and Sweden soon acceded, and of which the object was to restore, in some degree, the balance of power in Europe, by driving the French out of Hanover and the north of Germany; by esta-

blishing the independence of Holland and Switzerland; by restoring the King of Sardinia to his throne; and by compelling the French to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the whole of Italy. This great object it was proposed to accomplish by an army of 500,000 men, in addition to the forces to be employed by Great Britain, who herself engaged to contribute to the common efforts both by sea and land, and to assist the different powers by subsidies.

An attempt to attain the objects of the alliance by negotiation having been thought expedient, a correspondence ensued between M. Talleyrand and the ministers of Austria and Russia, during which the preparations for offensive warfare were unremittingly continued on both sides; and, whilst two Russian armies of 50,000 men each were advancing towards the Danube, Buonaparte, in whose plans promptitude was always the leading feature, determined to strike a decisive blow at the Austrians. Towards the close of August he ordered the Boulogne flotilla to be dismantled, and the troops to march to the Rhine; the bulk of his force in Holland and Hanover was also directed to proceed to the banks of the Danube; and, as soon as he received intelligence that the Austrians had entered Bavaria, he convened the senate, stating, in a speech from the throne, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army. On this occasion two important decrees were proposed; the one for the immediate levy of 80,000 conscripts, and the other for re-organizing the National Guard. Having crossed the Rhine at Kehl, Buonaparte, at the head of 150,000 men, by a series of bold and rapid movements, gained a position between Vienna and the Austrian army under General Mack. That army, consisting of nearly 90,000 men, dispersed over a wide extent of country, was beaten in detail, and reduced to 30,000, who, with their commander, were blocked

up in Ulm. On the 17th of October Mack agreed to surrender, and on the 20th the whole of the Austrian troops in that city laid down their arms before the French emperor, and, with the exception of the field-officers, who were permitted to return home on their parole, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, with all their artillery and magazines. Buonaparte, having sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled, complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor: "I desire nothing," said he, "on the Continent. France wants only ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

This disastrous opening of the campaign blighted the slender hopes which the allies had entertained of the co-operation of Prussia. Frederic William had been provoked to some show of indignation by the march of French troops through part of the Prussian neutral territory of Anspach without asking permission, and was disposed to resent the insult; but, on learning the fate of Mack's army, he relapsed into passive neutrality. Buonaparte, immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, made the most active exertions for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of Russians, under General Kutusoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and united itself to the Austrians in that quarter: it was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division, and with this view the French army, having been joined by the contingents of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemberg, advanced by rapid marches towards the Inn, which they passed in the face of the allies, who retreated step by step on the road to Vienna, to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under General Buxhovden. In this situation of affairs, the Emperor of Austria, desirous of averting the evils, with which he was

menaced, by negotiation, proposed an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. Buonaparte demanded that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol; but, as these terms would place the imperial crown at his mercy, the emperor resolved still to struggle with his difficulties, and, perceiving the danger which threatened his capital, retired with his court to Brunn, in Moravia.

The French occupied Vienna on the 13th of November, and found there an immense quantity of military stores; on the 14th Buonaparte received a deputation of the citizens at the imperial palace of Schoenbrunn; and on the following day he proceeded to join the main army in Moravia, which was advancing with such rapidity that the Austrian court found it necessary to remove to Olmutz. The Russians, who had crossed the Danube at Krems, were retiring through that country to unite with the forces under the command of the emperor, and, after suffering severely in two spirited actions at Hollbrunn and Guntersdorf, they retreated through Znaim to Brunn, which they were compelled to evacuate on the 18th, leaving large quantities of ammunition and provisions. Buonaparte established his head-quarters there on the 20th, and his main army took up a position at Withau, in face of the Austro-Russian army posted on the plains of Olmutz.

The Italian campaign was opened upon the Adige on the 18th of October. The Austrian army was strongly posted near Verona, on the left bank of the river; while the French troops, under Marshal Massena, occupied the city upon the opposite bank. The communication was by means of two bridges, and both parties had guarded against the passage of them by strong works, raised at the opposite extremities. The Archduke Charles, however, was not

in a condition to undertake offensive operations: the attack was therefore begun by the French, who forced the Austrian intrenchments; and the Archduke, having obtained information of the disaster at Ulm, fell back towards Vienna. The Archduke John, severely pressed in the Tyrol, adopted the same resolution, and, after encountering many difficulties, the two brothers effected a junction at Laybach, in Carniola. Massena, who had advanced closely in pursuit, established a communication with the corps of Ney and Marmont, who, after the reduction of the Tyrol, approached the Danube to support the main body of the French army.

Marshal Davoust, leaving the principal part of the French army at Vienna, proceeded with his division towards Presburg, when he received overtures from Count Palfy, the governor, in the name of the Archduke Palatine, proposing that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued, on condition that the French general would guarantee the neutrality of that kingdom. To this proposal the marshal readily acceded, and the principal resources of the house of Austria were thus reduced to the army of the Archduke Charles, and to the small force of Prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the Russian division under Kutusoff, who, perceiving the difficulties of his situation, sent the Baron de Winzingerode to Murat, to propose terms of capitulation; and a convention was concluded, which permitted the Russian army to retire into their own territory; but Buonaparte, conceiving them to be in his power, refused to ratify it. In the mean time, General Kutusoff had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division under Prince Bagration, consisting of 6000 men, opposed to 30,000 of the enemy, by whom he was surrounded, when he bravely cut his way through them, and arrived with comparatively little loss at the head-quarters of Wischau. The

French pursued their advantages in every direction: on the 20th of November Buonaparte arrived at Brunn, and received a deputation from the Moravian states, with a bishop at their head; Ney was already master of Brixen; and Bernadotte occupied Iglau, on the confines of Bohemia. Many prisoners and much baggage fell into their hands in the various encounters; and, on the 23d, they had pushed their reconnoitring parties to the gates of Olmutz. The combined forces at that place amounted to nearly 100,000 men, of which the Russians formed the greater part; but they were harassed by constant exertions, and enfeebled by continual privations. The provinces to a great distance around them were wasted, and no alternative remained but to commit the fortunes of the campaign to the last desperate valour of their troops. On the arrival of the Emperor of Russia in his camp, Buonaparte sent his aid-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment that prince, and to propose an interview, which he declined, but in return despatched Prince Dobgoruski to explain his sentiments. In the mean time Savary, who had been indiscreetly suffered to remain within the Russian lines for three successive days, had returned to the French camp, and reported that, in spite of the deplorable state of their troops, presumption, imprudence, and indiscretion, reigned in their military councils. Availing himself of this intelligence, Buonaparte issued orders for his army to retire under cover of the night, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy, and to take up a strong position in the rear, where the troops were throwing up intrenchments, and forming batteries, when Prince Dobgoruski made his appearance. These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The head-quarters of the Emperors of Russia and Germany were removed to Austerlitz, and a general attack was commenced at day-break

on the 2d of December, in which Buonaparte succeeded in completely insulating the centre of the allies, and, by possessing himself of the heights of Pratzen, decided the fate of the day. The Russians made many brave but fruitless efforts, and at nightfall retreated upon Boscovitz, covered by the Austrian cavalry. The loss of the allies was estimated at a fourth part of their force; and this tremendous conflict, which was styled by the French soldiers *the battle of the three emperors*, and by Buonaparte *the battle of Austerlitz*, terminated the campaign and the war. The Austrian emperor, dismayed by his loss, solicited an immediate armistice; and on the 4th an interview took place, at the French advanced posts, between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, when a suspension of arms was agreed upon, the terms of which were, that the French should remain in possession of all their conquests until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of negotiations; and that, in the latter case, hostilities should not recommence until the expiration of fourteen days. It was further stipulated that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states within a limited time; that there should be no extraordinary raising of troops; and that negotiators should meet, without delay, to form a definitive treaty. The Emperor Alexander refused to become a party to these conditions, and on the 6th of December caused his army to withdraw from the Austrian states. Before the arrival of intelligence announcing the armistice, the Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded a corps of 20,000 Austrians in Bohemia, defeated a corps of Bavarians under General Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. Almost at the same period the Archduke Charles advanced from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with a powerful force; and, on summoning the city to surrender, was greatly mortified to find himself reduced to a state

of inaction by the suspension of hostilities, and his country prostrate at the foot of a man, who, in the hour of triumph, suffered no generous impulse to soften his political resolves.

A definitive treaty was signed at Presburg on the 26th of December, the provisions of which were, that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy; that the royal title assumed by the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg should be acknowledged; that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, part of the territory of Passau, the country of the Tyrol, and the lordships of Voralberg, should be ceded to the King of Bavaria; that his possessions in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, should be divided between the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Baden; that the county of Salzburg and of Berchtoldsgaden, belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire, and that the Archduke should receive from the King of Bavaria, in compensation, the territory of Wurtzburg. By this treaty it was estimated that the emperor lost in subjects more than 2,700,000 souls, and in revenue 16,000,000 of florins, about 1,600,000*l.* sterling; but the diminution of power and influence which he sustained in abandoning his possessions on the side of Italy, and in relinquishing the line of country through which he formerly maintained his connexion with Switzerland, was a severe stroke upon his political consequence.

A treaty between France and Prussia was also concluded at Vienna, which stipulated that Buonaparte should send no more troops into Hanover, and that the forces of the allies should be withdrawn, and replaced by those of Prussia, who, in exchange for Hanover, ceded Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia, Cleves in Westphalia, and Neufchatel and Valengin in Switzerland.

Whilst Buonaparte was thus successful on the Continent, Great Britain was not less triumphant on her natural element. As early as the 11th of January, a French squadron, consisting of six sail of the line and two frigates, after having been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, ventured out to sea, with the view to unite itself with the more formidable force at Brest; and on the 15th the Toulon fleet, comprising eleven sail of the line, and having on board 9000 troops, also pushed out to sea without being perceived by the blockading squadron under Lord Nelson; but after a short cruise was obliged again to put into port, through stress of weather. On the 22d of February, the force which had escaped from Rochefort, having proceeded to the West Indies, made a descent on the island of Dominica, and the town of Roseau was obliged to capitulate: the Governor-general Prevost, however, retreated to St. Rupert's, where he was in vain summoned to surrender; and the French commander at length abandoned the island, after levying a heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Roseau. He next visited the islands of Nevis and St. Kitt's, both of which were also laid under contribution; but, on the arrival of Admiral Cochrane in the West Indies, this marauding squadron precipitately sailed for France, where it arrived in safety.

The alarm created in the public mind respecting the proceedings of the Rochefort squadron had scarcely subsided, when intelligence was received that the Toulon fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, was again at sea. On the 30th of March this officer sailed to Carthagen; but, not finding the Spanish ships in that port in readiness, he continued his course unmolested to Cadiz; and, being there joined by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he steered to the West Indies with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line, carrying,

beside their full complement of seamen, 10,000 veteran troops.

On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, who was blockading that port with five ships of the line, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining Lord Gardner off Brest. The welcome account, however, soon arrived, that Lord Nelson, who had been cruising in the Mediterranean, was in pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies. His lordship, it is true, had only ten ships of the line; but his name was a tower of strength. On the 4th of June he arrived off Barbadoes, where he learnt that Admiral Villeneuve had reached Martinique on the 14th of May, but that the Diamond Rock was the only conquest he had achieved; when, after remaining nearly inactive during three weeks, hearing of the presence of the dreaded Nelson, he set sail on his return, and was immediately followed by his indefatigable opponent, who, having in vain sought him off Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, in the Bay of Biscay, and on the coast of Ireland, returned to England, after despatching nine ships of the line to reinforce Lord Gardner off Brest. Hopes were yet entertained that Villeneuve would be intercepted before he could reach any friendly port; and on the 22d of July his fleet, which now amounted to twenty sail of the line, three fifty-gun ships, and five frigates, fell in with Sir Robert Calder, who had only fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, six leagues west of Cape Finisterre, and, after an engagement of four hours, the *St. Raphael*, of 84 guns, and *El Firme*, of 74, were taken from the enemy, when Sir Robert, from the foggy state of the weather, judged it expedient to put a stop to the action, in order that his squadron might cover the captures. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and on the following morning the enemy seemed disposed to renew the contest, but he never approached nearer the British lines than four

leagues ; and, on the 24th, he bore away to the south-east under easy sail. In England the conduct of Sir Robert Calder became the subject of so much disapprobation, that he demanded a court-martial, by which he was sentenced to be severely reprimanded, not for fear or cowardice, but for an error in judgment, in not having done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy. This officer's fate was considered by the better informed as somewhat hard ; and it is a singular proof of the high confidence then existing in the naval superiority of the country, that an officer should meet reproof, who, with fifteen sail, obtained a partial victory over more than twenty.

The combined fleets, having at Ferrol augmented their forces to twenty-seven sail of the line, proceeded to Cadiz ; and scarcely had Lord Nelson arrived in London, after his long and persevering cruise, when he was offered the command of an armament sufficient to cope with the united naval force of France and her allies, which he willingly accepted, and, hoisting his flag on board the *Victory*, arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September. To induce the enemy to come out to sea, he stationed his main force near Cape St. Mary, and established a line of frigates to communicate their movements. On the 19th of October, being apprized that a reinforcement of seven sail of the line would shortly join him from England, his lordship despatched Admiral Louis with six sail to Tetuan for stores and water. Informed of this event, and supposing the English to be much reduced in strength, Admiral Villeneuve availed himself of the favourable juncture to obey the positive commands which had been issued by his government : on the next day the fleet under his command got under weigh, and, at day-break on the 21st, was distinctly seen from the *Victory's* deck, formed in a close line of battle off Cape Trafalgar. Our fleet, which had

received the expected reinforcement, consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates; theirs of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates; and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. Admiral Villeneuve was a skilful seaman; and his plan of defence was as well conceived, and as original, as the plan of attack. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina; and 4000 troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Contamin, among whom were several skilful sharpshooters and Tyrolese riflemen. The British fleet bore up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing; and as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of the enemy's line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward, so that, in leading down to their centre, Lord Collingwood had both their van and rear abaft the beam. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The last telegraphic signal issued by the great commander on going into action was, "England expects every man to do his duty;" and nobly indeed was it performed on this glorious day, for the battle of Trafalgar is without a parallel in the annals of British victory.

The conflict began about noon, when Admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, gallantly cut through the enemy's line about the twelfth ship from his rear, leaving his van unoccupied; the succeeding ships broke through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaged their antagonists at the muzzles of their guns. Lord Nelson, on board the Victory, directed his attack on the enemy's line between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van; but, finding it so close that there was not room to pass, he ordered his ship to be run on board the Redoubtable, opposed to him; his second, the Temeraire,

engaged the next ship in the enemy's line, and the others singled out their adversaries according to the order of battle. During nearly four hours the conflict was tremendous, particularly in that part of the line where the commander-in-chief had commenced the onset. The guns of his ship repeatedly set fire to the *Redoutable*; and the British seamen, apprehensive that both ships might be involved in destruction, were employed at intervals during the heat of the fight in throwing buckets of water on the spreading flames. About three in the afternoon the Spanish admiral, with ten sail of the line, joining the frigates to leeward, bore away for Cadiz; and ten minutes afterwards five of the headmost ships of the enemy's van, under Admiral Dumanoir, tacked, and stood to windward of the British line: the sternmost was taken, but the others escaped. The heroic exertions of the British were rewarded by the capture of nineteen ships of the line, with the commander-in-chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals; but, a gale of wind coming on from the south-west after the action, only four of the prizes could be saved, which were carried into Gibraltar. The *Achille*, a French 74, blew up, after her surrender; but 200 of her men were saved. Admiral Villeneuve was sent to England, and afterwards permitted to return to France, where, as was stated by the French government, he destroyed himself, dreading the consequences of a court-martial.

In such a battle the loss on both sides must be severe; that of the victors amounted to 1500 men killed and wounded: but the deep regret which the effusion of so much brave blood cannot fail to excite was absorbed in the greater sorrow caused by the fall of the commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded by a musket-shot from the ship with which he was closely engaged. He survived the battle about two hours; and the pain of his last moments was soothed by the glad tidings that the hostile

flags were striking around him ; when, after breathing his thanks to Heaven for being enabled once more to do his duty to his country, he expired without a groan. Such was the end of this great man, whose career had been eminently brilliant, and whose fate was glorious and triumphant. Before the battle began he entertained a presentiment that this would be the last day of his life, and seemed to look for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory ; but although this gloomy foreboding occupied his mind, and though he had more than once observed that the enemy would endeavour to mark him out as one of their victims, yet his lordship, on the morning of the 21st, put on the stars of the different orders with which he had been invested. His secretary and chaplain, apprehensive that these insignia might expose his person to unnecessary danger, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon him to take them off : to all their entreaties he replied—" In honour I gained them, and in honour I will die with them."

The survivors were gratified with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament ; gold medals were awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves on this memorable day ; and, in addition to the honours and rewards showered upon the family of the fallen hero, the dignity of Baron, with an annuity of 2000*l.* a year to himself and his two next heirs, was conferred upon Vice-admiral Collingwood.

The four French ships under Rear-admiral Duma-noir, which escaped to the southward towards the close of the action off Trafalgar, soon shared the fate of their companions. On the night of the 2d of November, Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol with four ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with what he thought the Rochefort squadron ; but they proved to be the fugitives from the combined fleet, to which he

immediately gave chase. A little before noon on the 4th, Dumanoir, finding an engagement unavoidable, came to close action; and, after a well-supported contest, continued for nearly three hours and a half, all the four ships struck to the English, but not till they had become quite unmanageable. Thus was the naval power of France and her ally reduced to insignificance; the phantoms of "ships, colonies, and commerce," which had floated before the imagination of Buonaparte, were chased from the regions of probability; and Britain was confirmed in her paramount dominion of the seas.

In India a new war was occasioned by the intrigues and aggressions of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the Mahratta chief, who had usurped the dominions of his brother, and renounced his allegiance to the Peishwa. After a fruitless negotiation, the troops in the Deccan, under General Wellesley, reduced the fortress of Chandore; while Lord Lake, by a series of skilful and rapid movements, compelled him to risk encounters which ultimately led to his discomfiture. On the 13th of November, 1804, a large force was totally routed near Deeg; and on the 17th his cavalry was surprised and defeated near Feruckabad, Holkar himself escaping with great difficulty from the field. This splendid success would have decided the contest, had not the unexpected defection of the Rajah of Bhurtpore enabled the fugitive to repair his desperate fortunes. Early in 1805 Lord Lake made several attacks on the town of Bhurtpore, in all of which he was repulsed with considerable loss; but at length the Rajah made proposals for peace, which was granted to him, and subsequently to Holkar, on terms favourable to the company. In July Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras, as successor to the Marquis Wellesley, but in such a reduced state of health that he died in the October following.

CHAPTER XXIX.

State of Europe—Meeting of Parliament—Death of Mr. Pitt—Change of ministry—New military arrangements—Finance—Prevention of abuses—Corn trade with Ireland—Intercourse between the West Indies and America—Slave trade—Impeachment of Lord Melville—India affairs—Prorogation of Parliament—Negotiation for peace—Death of Mr. Fox—Ministerial appointments—Dissolution of Parliament—Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth's victory—Other naval successes—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Unauthorized expedition to Buenos Ayres, and its consequences—Court-martial on Sir Home Popham—Affairs of Hayti—Dispute with America—Elevation of Joseph Buonaparte to the throne of Naples—Resistance to the French arms—Operations of Sir Sidney Smith on the coast of Calabria—Sir John Stuart's expedition—Battle of Maida—Occurrences on the coast of Dalmatia—Occupation of Hanover by Prussia—Consequent hostility with England and Sweden—Revolution in her politics—Confederation of the Rhine—Louis Buonaparte declared King of Holland—Titles conferred by Buonaparte on his followers—Murder of Palm—Fourth coalition against France—Movements of the French and Prussian forces—Battle of Auerstadt, or Jena—Its consequences—Seizure of British property at Hamburgh—Buonaparte's Berlin decree—Negotiation for an armistice—Advance of the Russians—Their repulse—Levies—Operations in Silesia—Battle of Eylau—Surrender of Dantzic—Success of the French in Swedish Pomerania—Battle of Friedland—Treaty of Tilsit—War with Turkey and Russia, followed by hostilities between Eng-

land and the former—Expeditions to Constantinople and Egypt—Capture of Monte Video—Attack on Buenos Ayres—Its failure—General Whitelocke tried by Court Martial and cashiered—Capture of Curaçao—Insurrection of the Sepoys in India.

THE state of Europe at the commencement of the year 1806 may justly be said to be unexampled in the annals of history. The French and English nations had acquired not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, the one over the land, and the other over the seas. The battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France, and left her without a rival on the Continent; while the victory of Trafalgar had no less decided the naval pre-eminence of England: she was, however, unable to make any serious impression on the power of Buonaparte, who, after the treaty of Presburg, no longer deterred by the fear of a continental coalition, was at liberty to direct his whole force and energy to her subjugation. If Great Britain had nothing to apprehend from the number of troops Buonaparte might be able to land on the shores of England, other parts of the empire were not equally invulnerable to his attacks. In Ireland, exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army, rebellion had been put down, but discontent still existed: the fire, which had lately blazed with such fury, was smothered, but not extinguished; and though the more moderate of the Catholics were ready to postpone the discussion of their claims till the chief obstacle to the redress of their grievances was removed, and the prudent and considerate were disinclined to those violent counsels from which they had already suffered so much, it was not to be supposed that all

the Irish Catholics were moderate and prudent, but that many of that body would join themselves to a French army whenever it might make its appearance in their country.

Affairs were in this posture when Parliament was opened by commission on the 21st of January. After suitable congratulations on the late naval successes, mixed with regret for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved, the speech stated that his Majesty had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before the two Houses; and, while he lamented the late disastrous events on the Continent, he congratulated them on the assurances which he continued to receive from the Emperor of Russia. The speech then stated that 1,000,000*l.* accruing to the crown from the droits of Admiralty, would be applied to the public service of the year; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy. An amendment to the address was read in both Houses, but was not proposed as a motion, on account of the dangerous indisposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that moment on his death-bed.

This distinguished statesman had been compelled, at the close of the former session of Parliament, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath, whence he returned, on the 11th of January, to his residence on Putney Heath, in a state of debility and exhaustion, augmented by anxiety and disappointment. His constitution, originally delicate, sunk rapidly, and on the 23d of January he expired, in the 47th year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. On a motion of the Hon. Henry Lascelles, made in the House of Commons on the 27th of January, and carried by a majority of 258 to 89, his remains were interred at the public

expense in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his father. A sum not exceeding 40,000*l.* was voted for the payment of his debts without opposition.

Mr. Pitt possessed no particular advantages of person or physiognomy; but as a speaker he was thought to be without a rival. His integrity was unimpeached; his conduct moral; and, so far was he from making use of his opportunities to acquire wealth, that he died insolvent. As a financier he displayed great ability in augmenting the public revenue, and in raising money on public faith; but whilst he was thus adding to the burdens of the people, and entailing a heavy load on posterity, the wealth so acquired was distributed with lavish profusion. Such was his dread of the revolutionary principles which desolated France, that, considering no price too great for the means of opposing them, he carried the practice of subsidizing foreign states to an unprecedented and almost ruinous extent. But, whatever may have been his errors, his exertions in the public service during a period of unexampled difficulty were unwearied; and the emphatic words pronounced by the herald over his corpse, "*non sibi sed patriæ vixit*," were not less just than honourable.

Either from confidence in his own powers, or from the love of sway, Mr. Pitt seldom associated himself with men of superior talent, and his death at this critical juncture was considered as a virtual dissolution of the existing administration. His colleagues, besides the want of public confidence, were disunited and without a head; and the loss of their patron dissolved the only tie that bound them. In circumstances so discouraging, the surviving members of Mr. Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle; and even refused to retain charge of them, when urged to that duty by the solicitations of the court. Lord Hawkesbury was offered the post of

Premier, but he deemed it too arduous, and on retiring from office received the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

Every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late cabinet having proved unsuccessful, his Majesty called in the assistance of Lord Grenville, and on the 3d of February the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled, embracing the leading members of the three parties, designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party. The cabinet was composed of the following members: Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Council; Lord Erskine, Lord Chancellor; Viscount Sidmouth, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Moira, Master-general of the Ordnance; Earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, Secretaries of State for the Home, Foreign, and War Departments; and Lord Henry Petty, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough was also admitted to a seat in the cabinet. The Duke of Bedford went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Elliot as Chief Secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer; Lord Minto was appointed President of the Board of Control; Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy; General Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War; Sir Arthur Pigott and Sir Samuel Romilly, Attorney and Solicitor General. In the subordinate offices, likewise, so complete a change had not been effected since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's first administration.

Lord Grenville's holding the office of Auditor of the Exchequer, which is incompatible with that of First Lord of the Treasury, rendered it necessary to bring a bill into Parliament, to enable him to accept

the latter office, without forfeiting the former ; and, to palliate the objections that might be made to this equivocal union, his lordship was empowered to name a trustee to hold the office of Auditor, so long as he should continue in the situation of First Lord of the Treasury ; which trustee should be responsible to the Auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of his office. The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, a measure of still more doubtful policy, was brought before the Lords on the 3d of March, when the Earl of Bristol moved a resolution, stating it to be the opinion of that House that it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee, or assembly of the privy council, any of the judges of his Majesty's courts of common law. This motion was negatived without a division, and a similar resolution was lost in the Commons by 222 against 64.

On the 3d of April Mr. Windham submitted to the House of Commons some important military arrangements. Instead of an engagement to serve for life, he proposed that the soldiers in future should be enlisted for a term of years only ; this term to be divided into three periods, of seven years each, for the infantry ; and, for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten ; the second, six ; and the third, five years. At the end of each period the soldier to have a right to claim his discharge, and be entitled to certain advantages proportioned to his length of service. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years' service ; and though corporal punishments could not, he said, be entirely banished from the army, they might be diminished both in number and severity. The volunteer corps ought only to be formed of persons who would serve at their own expense, and the peasantry should be loosely trained to harass and impede an enemy.

This training he meant to be compulsory ; and that 200,000 should be annually liable to that duty. The bills necessary for effecting these arrangements were strongly opposed in every stage, but finally passed both Houses.

In finance ministers appeared satisfied with following the system of their predecessors. On the 28th of March the budget was opened by Lord Henry Petty, who stated the unredeemed debt of Great Britain and Ireland at nearly 556,000,000*l.* and the redeemed at 127,000,000*l.* of which the annual charge was nearly 27,500,000*l.* The supplies on account of Great Britain were estimated at 43,618,472*l.* ; and among the proposed ways and means the most considerable were a loan of 18,000,000*l.* and an augmentation of the war taxes to 19,500,000*l.* to be effected principally by raising the property tax from six and a half to ten *per cent.* It was also proposed to raise the war duties on the customs, with certain modifications, from one-fourth to one-third ; and, in order to cover the interest of the loan, the duty on wine was to be made permanent, and 2*l.* per ton imposed on pig-iron : the duty on tea was to be equalized ; and a tax on appraisements imposed. The property-tax bill encountered great opposition, but was passed with some modifications. The tax on iron excited such opposition that it was abandoned, and a tax on private brewers substituted ; but this raised a still greater outcry, and the interest of the loan was provided for by an addition of ten *per cent.* to the assessed taxes. The budget for Ireland was opened by Sir John Newport on the 7th of May, when it appeared that the supply voted for that country was 8,975,194*l.* ; and the ways and means, including a loan of 2,000,000*l.* were estimated at 9,181,455*l.*

The prevention of abuses being the declared intention of ministers, some salutary regulations were adopted in various departments. The balances of

the treasurer of the ordnance were ordered to be deposited at the Bank of England, and the payments to be made by drafts upon that establishment: the same principle was also extended to the excise and customs, to the stamp and post offices, and to the office of surveyor-general of the woods and forests: an act was passed for increasing the salaries and abolishing the fees of the custom-house officers of the port of London; and judicious measures were adopted for the settlement of public accounts.

The corn trade between Great Britain and Ireland was placed on the same footing as that between the different counties of England, by an act which judiciously allowed the free interchange of grain without any bounty, duty, or restraint whatever. An act was also passed for regulating the intercourse between the West Indies and the United States, which vested a discretionary power in his Majesty to permit, under certain restrictions, the trade in lumber and provisions carried on by neutrals with the British colonies, with the proviso that no commodities, staves and lumber only excepted, should be imported, which were not of the growth and produce of the countries to which the neutral vessels belonged, and that they should not export the indigenous products of the colonies.

The abolition of the slave trade, which had for so many years engrossed the attention of the friends of humanity in this country—which had been supported by the eloquence of the late prime minister whenever it was brought before Parliament, but had as constantly been defeated by the prevalence of interests which, as minister, he did not choose to oppose—was pursued by the new administration with so much earnestness, that in the present session considerable progress was made towards its accomplishment. A bill was passed, prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after

the 1st of January, 1807, and interdicting all subjects of this country from being accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. Another bill soon after passed without opposition, for preventing the increase of the British slave trade, by prohibiting any vessels from embarking in that traffic which were not already employed therein. The next measure was a resolution moved by Mr. Fox on the 10th of June, and which, being his last motion, may be said to have closed the parliamentary career of that great statesman. The words of the resolution were, "that this House, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner and at such period as may be deemed advisable." He declared that he was so fully impressed with the vast importance of attaining the object of his motion, that if, during the almost forty years that he had enjoyed a seat in Parliament, he had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, he could retire from public life with the conscious satisfaction that he had done his duty. The motion was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, the members for Liverpool, and a few in the West India interest; but, on a division, they were only 15 against 114, leaving a majority of 99 in favour of the abolition. In the Lords the same resolution was adopted, on the motion of Lord Grenville, by 41 against 20. The last step taken on this subject, during the present session, was a joint address from the two Houses, beseeching his Majesty to take measures for obtaining the concurrence of foreign powers in the abolition.

The trial of Lord Melville next engaged the attention of Parliament, and excited considerable interest in the public mind. The House of Commons having resolved to exercise its power of impeach-

ment against this nobleman, managers were duly appointed; Westminster Hall was appropriately fitted up; and on the 29th of April the court was opened with the usual forms. The articles, which were ten in number, contained three principal charges. The first was, that, before the 10th of January, 1786, he had applied to his private use and profit various sums intrusted to him as treasurer of the navy. The second was, that he had permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the Bank of England large sums issued on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place those sums in the hands of his private banker. The third was, that he had fraudulently permitted Trotter to apply the said money to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself derived profit therefrom. Lord Melville averred that he was not guilty, when Mr. Whitbread addressed the court in an elaborate speech, and the solicitor-general recapitulated the evidence. The counsel for Lord Melville occupied three days in the defence: on the two following days the managers delivered their reply on the part of the Commons: the further proceedings were deferred till the 28th of May. A motion of thanks to the managers was made on the 23d, in the Commons, by General Fitzpatrick, and agreed to with only one dissentient voice. At the appointed period the peers assembled; the assistance of the judges on certain points of law was resorted to; and on the 12th of June their lordships proceeded to deliver their verdict. The result was, that his lordship was acquitted of all the charges; but on four of the articles the majority in his favour did not amount to double the number of those who gave a contrary judgment. The whole number of peers voting was 135, and, considering the nature of the proceeding, the trial was conducted with unusual despatch.

Various discussions arose during this session respecting the affairs of India. The budget was pro-

duced on the 10th of July, when it appeared that the charge exceeded the revenue 2,851,745*l.*; that a great diminution had taken place in the annual account; and that the debts in India might be estimated at 30,000,000*l.*, of which 17,000,000*l.* were payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities. On the 23d of July, after a long and busy session, Parliament was prorogued by commission.

From the moment of their entrance upon office ministers appear to have formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France. In February a project for assassinating Buonaparte was communicated by a foreigner to Mr. Fox, who immediately sent a statement of the circumstances to M. Talleyrand. The French minister, in reply to this letter, took occasion to introduce, unofficially, an extract from Buonaparte's speech to the Legislative Body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate, without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style which is the characteristic of all his public despatches. He stated the impossibility of concluding any treaty unless in concert with Russia; but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements. A correspondence of some length ensued, in which M. Talleyrand endeavoured to represent Russia as interposing its authority between two nations fully competent to adjust their own differences: Mr. Fox, however, stated explicitly that his Majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but not separately; to which M. Talleyrand re-urged the former objections, and thus the correspondence closed.

Early in June, however, Lord Yarmouth, son of

the Marquis of Hertford, who had been among those detained in France at the commencement of hostilities, arrived in London, and communicated the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored. Three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat, *viz.* the restoration of Hanover; the possession of Sicily, as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*; and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without recognising the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their alliance. M. Talleyrand, in the first interview with Lord Yarmouth after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vain allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some persons duly empowered to treat. This deviation from the original overtures was viewed by the British ministry as an indication of the little reliance that could be placed on the sincerity of the French negotiators; Lord Yarmouth was therefore directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the re-admission of Sicily the *sine quâ non* of the production of his full powers, which, to avoid all pretence of cavil, were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean time the Russian plenipotentiary, M. D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris on the 10th of July, had signed a separate peace with the French government, and returned to St. Petersburg without communicating to Lord Yarmouth some of its most material articles. In this posture of affairs Lord Lauderdale was despatched to Paris. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend, and tried political adherent, was a

pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and consult the spirit of his policy.

The first endeavour of Lord Lauderdale was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*; but the negotiators, M. Champagny, minister of the interior, and General Clarke, contrived, under various pretences, to procrastinate, till it became the policy of Britain, as well as of France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburg on the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither. On the 3d of September a courier brought the intelligence to Paris that the Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify it; and M. Talleyrand communicated this information to the British negotiator the day after its arrival, assuring him that France was now prepared to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit; but, as the abandonment of Russia was to be the price, the British cabinet determined not to listen to any such projects. A series of unsatisfactory discussions ensued, which lasted until Buonaparte left Paris for the army on the Rhine, accompanied by Talleyrand, and one of the plenipotentiaries, General Clarke. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorized to relinquish the claims of Joseph Buonaparte upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg; the negotiation was therefore at an end, and Lord Lauderdale returned to England. His passports were accompanied by a note, insinuating that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; to which Lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited reply.

That the English ministers were sincere in their desire for peace is unquestionable; but that the commercial part of the nation, at least, did not participate in this wish, is proved by the fact that,

though the grounds upon which the discussion had broken off were unknown, the intelligence of Lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at the Royal Exchange in London with triumphant shouts of applause.

Mr. Fox's accession to power, while labouring under indisposition, whatever political hopes it might excite, was a circumstance pregnant to himself of inconvenience and danger. The business of the House of Commons he was, in a few months, obliged to abandon; but, with this deduction from his harassing employments, the remainder pressed too heavily upon him, and it was not long before the most decided indications of dropsy appeared. After a series of increasing languors, this great man closed his connexion with all mortal scenes at Chiswick, at the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, on the 13th of September, in the 58th year of his age. The public regret for his loss subdued for a time the conflicting prejudices of party, and an unanimous homage was paid to those great and amiable qualities which won the cordial affection of his friends, and the generous admiration of his adversaries. His funeral, though performed at private expense, was attended by the most distinguished characters in the country, and an immense assemblage of the general population.

Mr. Fox, in person, was about the middle size, and, as he advanced in life, very corpulent. The independence of his mind and frankness of his manners were unalloyed by any portion of asperity: he was the firm and consistent advocate of liberty, civil and religious; and the powerful and frequent application of his talents to popular purposes procured him the general appellation of "the man of the people." As a public speaker, his manner was not graceful, but it was peculiarly animated and impressive. As a minister, he displayed the same noble simplicity and plain dealing which charac-

terized his conduct in private life. Peace was the darling wish of his heart, though he would have scorned to purchase that blessing by the slightest sacrifice of national honour. Having commenced a negotiation, he was spared the pain of seeing the intricate policy of modern times triumph over his favourite object ; and with the satisfaction of leaving the old associates of his public career in the employment of the state, and in the consequent possession of rewards and honours, “ I die happy ” were nearly the last words he uttered.

On the death of Mr. Fox, Lord Howick was appointed to the foreign office ; Mr. Grenville, first lord of the admiralty, took the place of Lord Howick ; Mr. Tierney, president of the board of control, in the place of Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a seat in the cabinet, on the appointment of Lord Minto to the government of India ; Lord Sidmouth to succeed to the presidency of the council, from which Earl Fitzwilliam, on account of ill health, was desirous to withdraw ; and Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, to succeed Lord Sidmouth, as lord privy seal. A dissolution of Parliament, after a remarkably short duration, immediately and unexpectedly followed ; and, though the returns to the new one were such as to add to the weight and influence of the friends of administration in the House of Commons, the experiment was not, on the whole, attended with much success.

At the close of the preceding year, Admiral Villamez, accompanied by Jerome Buonaparte, succeeded in escaping from port, with eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates. After continuing in company for ten days, the fleet separated into two squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Le Seigle, steered for St.

Domingo, where a body of troops and a supply of ammunition were disembarked for the use of the colony. On the 6th of February, Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with seven ships of the line, and four frigates, discovered the enemy to windward of Ocoa bay, and, after a furious action, three ships of the line struck; the other two were driven on shore and burnt; and the smaller vessels got off. The other squadron of Villaumez, amounting to six sail of the line, with three frigates, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but, having been informed of the capture of that settlement by the English, they steered to the coast of Brazil, and thence to the West Indies. In June, Admiral Cochrane, who had only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered them near Barbadoes, but did not consider it safe to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force; their ruin, however, was soon after accomplished by the fury of the elements, being separated by a tremendous gale of wind on the 18th of August. The French admiral's vessel reached the Havannah with extreme difficulty, three were destroyed on the American coast, another escaped into Brest, and the Veteran, 74, commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, was stranded on the coast of Brittany. The captain and crew got on shore.

Admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas, and the Isle of France had been the grand depot of the plunder he had collected, whence, in different bottoms, it had been transferred to France, and thither the admiral's ship, the Marengo, of 80 guns, and the Belle Poule, of 40, were this year bending their course, looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the produce of their toil. These hopes, however, were frustrated by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been despatched in pursuit of Jerome Buonaparte. On the morning of the 13th of March, the French ships

were seen to windward, and, after a running fight of three hours, were compelled to strike, thus affording some atonement for their depredations on our commerce.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort in September, were met at sea by a British squadron under Sir Samuel Hood, who, after a running fight of several hours, captured four of them. The loss of the English was small, but Sir Samuel unfortunately lost his arm. Several distinguished actions of a minor nature occurred in the course of the year.

An expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of about 5000 troops, under Sir David Baird, with a naval force, commanded by Sir Home Popham, sailed from England in August, 1805, and arrived on the 4th of January following. On the 8th the army moved forward, and, having dislodged the enemy's light troops, their main body, estimated at 5000 men, was discovered in motion, to anticipate the approach of the British; they, however, forced the Batavians to a precipitate retreat. The Governor-general, Jansens, seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior; but General Beresford having been sent against him, he was prevailed upon to surrender, on condition of his forces being conveyed to Holland at the expense of the British government, and not considered prisoners of war.

Sir Home Popham, who in 1804 had been appointed to confer with the insurgent general Miranda concerning his views on South America, had long entertained an idea that an expedition should be sent against the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata; and, having been successful at the Cape, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of Buenos Ayres, taking upon himself a high and extraordinary degree of responsibility. Having persuaded

Sir David Baird to furnish a small body of troops, under General Beresford, he directed his course to St. Helena, where he obtained a small reinforcement to his little army, which, after all, did not exceed 1600 men, including marines. With this inadequate force he arrived at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, in the beginning of June, and on the 24th landed the troops without resistance, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. After dispersing a body of Spaniards, who fled at the first fire, General Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the viceroy having retreated to Cordova with the small body of troops under his command. While the army was thus employed, the line-of-battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in which were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, supposed, from its situation, to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. Favourable terms were granted to the inhabitants, and the property of individuals on shore was respected, but a great booty was made of the public money and commodities, and of the shipping in the river.

Elated with his success, Sir Home Popham sent a circular letter to the principal towns in Great Britain, expatiating on the advantages likely to accrue to their trade from this conquest, and the intelligence was received with the highest exultation. The rage for commercial enterprise, always easily excited in England, now knew no bounds; articles were exported that had never been heard of in the country to which they were destined, and were utterly unsuited to the customs or wants of the inhabitants; and the failure of speculations thus absurdly entered into drew down much censure upon the author.

When intelligence reached government of Sir

Home's unauthorized departure from the Cape, orders were instantly despatched to recall him, but they were too late; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result. The British government seemed, as it were, bewildered as to the course they ought to take; and, before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres came to be discussed in the cabinet, that settlement was recaptured.

The Spaniards were at first taken by surprise; but, on recovering from their panic, they collected the few troops they had in the neighbourhood, under the direction of Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, who crossed the river in a fog, on the 4th of August, with about 1000 men, unobserved by the English cruisers. On the 12th a desperate action took place in the streets and great square of the town, when the English were ultimately compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but, contrary to the articles of capitulation, they were marched up the country. Their loss amounted to 165 killed, wounded, and missing, besides 1300 made prisoners. Sir Home Popham blockaded the river till October, when the arrival of troops from the Cape enabled him to attempt Monte Video, in which he was unsuccessful. On the 29th a body of troops was landed at Maldonado, and the Spaniards were driven from thence, and from the isle of Gorriti.

Lord Howick, on the 19th of December, announced the recall of Sir Home Popham in terms of severe reprehension; and on the 17th of February following that officer arrived in London, when he was put under a formal arrest, preparatory to trial by a court-martial, for acting without orders, and for leaving the Cape in an unprotected state. After an able defence, the court adjudged him to be severely reprimanded.

During these transactions on the Spanish main, the negroes of St. Domingo rose against Dessalines, and put him to death—a catastrophe which he had merited by the cruelty and injustice of his government. His successor, Christophe, contented himself with the humbler title of Chief of the Government of Hayti, and in that capacity issued a proclamation, distinguished for the liberality of its sentiments, opening to neutral nations the commerce of his dominions.

Differences had existed, for a considerable time, between the United States of America and Spain, arising out of the ill-defined boundaries of Louisiana, and the Spaniards had made inroads on the district of New Orleans and the Mississippi, even in those parts which had been unequivocally ceded to the United States. Some disputes between America and the English government also assumed an important character. The complaint of the United States involved three points: first, The practice of impressing British seamen found on board American merchant vessels on the high seas; second, The violation of their rights, as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered a lawful commerce; and, third, The infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their own coasts. On the first point it was urged that native Americans were impressed on pretence of their being Englishmen, and forced to serve in the British navy; and the public mind in the United States was inflamed with exaggerated reports, stating that thousands of their citizens were in this situation. The second ground of complaint arose from a desire, on the part of the Americans, not only to trade with the colonies of a belligerent, in a manner that would not be allowed in a time of peace, but to become the carriers of their produce to the mother country; protecting it, at the same time, under their neutral flag. The third point, which merely required that

the extent of their maritime jurisdiction should be defined, admitted of easy arrangement.

An amicable adjustment of these differences being equally desirable to both parties, a special mission was appointed to England, and conferences were opened in London by Lords Holland and Auckland on the part of Great Britain, and by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on that of America. After some deliberations respecting an efficient substitute for the practice of impressment, the latter consented, though in opposition to their instructions, to pass to the other subjects of negotiation, on receiving an assurance that the right should be exercised with great caution, and immediate redress afforded on representation of any injury. On the subject of intercourse with the colonies of the enemy, a rule was established for defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage ; and it was expressly stipulated that on re-exportation there should remain, after the drawback, a duty to be paid of one *per cent. ad valorem*, on all European articles, and not less than two *per cent.* on colonial produce. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed, and some commercial stipulations were framed for the reciprocal advantage of the two countries ; but the American president, Mr. Jefferson, refused to ratify the treaty.

The successes of the French arms against Austria proved very unfortunate for the King of Naples, who, by a treaty concluded at Paris in September, 1805, had engaged to repel by force every encroachment on his neutrality : scarcely, however, had six weeks elapsed, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels were permitted to land a body of forces in Naples and its vicinity. This being considered by Buonaparte as an act of perfidy deserving the severest punishment, he issued a proclamation, on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, declaring that the Neapolitan

dynasty had ceased to reign ; and a French army, under Joseph Buonaparte, who assumed the sovereignty, immediately marched into Naples, when all the fortresses, except Gaeta and another, surrendered by capitulation. The new king was received with those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power ; and the heir-apparent retired into his dukedom of Calabria, where General Damas, a French emigrant, was endeavouring to organize a levy *en masse* : the province, however, was speedily reduced by General Regnier. Sir James Craig, with the English army, accompanied the royal family to Sicily, and in April was succeeded in his command by Sir John Stuart.

While the disturbances were still subsisting, Sir Sidney Smith took the command of the English squadron destined for the defence of Sicily. After throwing succours into Gaeta, which was gallantly defended by the Prince of Hesse Philipstal, he took possession of the isle of Capri, and proceeded along the coast, exciting alarm, and keeping up a communication with the Calabrese. At the urgent solicitation of the court of Palermo, the English general consented to employ a part of his force in Calabria, and, on the 1st of July, landed in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria, with about 4800 men. The French general, Regnier, made a rapid march from Reggio, and on the 3d encamped at Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, with a force nearly equal, and in daily expectation of reinforcements. Being determined to give battle without delay, Sir John Stuart advanced the next morning, and found the French in a strong position below the village, their force augmented to 7000 men, the expected detachments having joined. Regnier, confident in his superiority, quitted his post to meet the assailants on the plain, when the English, not dismayed at the unexpected increase of his numbers, advanced with

alacrity to the attack, and, after some firing, both sides prepared for close combat; but the French gave way when the bayonets began to cross, and, the English receiving a reinforcement at this critical juncture, the French precipitately abandoned the field, with the loss of about 700 killed and 1000 prisoners. The British loss was 45 killed and 282 wounded. This brilliant action, though it did not lead to the recovery of Naples, preserved Sicily from invasion, and compelled the French to evacuate Calabria. General Stuart, however, aware that his small force would be inadequate to the permanent defence of the country, retired to Sicily, leaving a garrison in the strong fort of Scylla. The fall of Gaeta, which took place soon after the battle of Maida, set at liberty a force of 16,000 men, which, in conjunction with the powerful army under Massena, who was sent to subdue the Calabrese, slowly effected that purpose.

The territory of Cattaro, in Dalmatia, which had been ceded by Austria to France in the treaty of Presburg, was to be occupied within six weeks after the ratification; but, as the French functionaries did not arrive at the appointed time, the Austrian garrison resigned the place to the natives, who transferred it to the Russians, and the French compensated themselves by taking possession of Ragusa.

The court of Prussia, which still vacillated greatly in its politics, addressed a proclamation on the 27th of January to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that, after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war consisted in forming a convention with Buonaparte, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic Majesty in Germany were to be occupied and governed by Prussia till the return of peace. This proceeding called forth an official note from Mr. Fox, addressed to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London,

desiring him explicitly to inform his court that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his Majesty to consent to the alienation of the Electorate. The disposition shown by Prussia to hold Hanover conditionally did not, however, please Buonaparte, who dictated new terms; and another treaty was signed on the 15th of February, by which Prussia was bound not only to annex it to her dominions, but to exclude British vessels and commerce from her ports. The indignity offered to Great Britain by these proceedings demanded prompt retaliation: the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave, were accordingly blockaded; a general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in British harbours; and the English mission at Berlin was recalled. These measures were announced to Parliament, on the 21st of April, in a message which was answered by unanimous addresses of thanks from both Houses; and the strongest animadversions were directed against Prussia for her abject submission to the will of Buonaparte.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The troops of that power, who occupied Luneburg on behalf of the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; on which the King of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and blockaded her ports in the Baltic. To counteract these measures, Prussia was preparing to expel the Swedes from Pomerania, when a new revolution in her politics took place, which gave a different direction to her arms. The feelings of the Prussian nation were hostile to France; and the Queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, indignant at the usurpations and insults of Buonaparte, joined in the same cause. The first public act of the

cabinet of St. Cloud, which gave serious alarm to the court of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat with the duchies of Berg and Cleves, the latter of which was one of the three provinces obtained from Prussia in exchange for Hanover; the other two, Anspach and Bayreuth, being transferred to Bavaria for the duchy of Berg. But a deeper injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the French government had offered to Great Britain the complete restitution of the electoral dominions. Fortunately, however, as Prussia then thought, the negotiation between France and Russia was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by M. D'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proof of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud; it now appearing, for the first time, that distinct hints had been given to M. D'Oubril, that, if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed by France.

The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire: the residence of the French troops in Germany, however, in consequence of the protracted occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, matured the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which Buonaparte should himself be placed. This project was arranged with extraordinary promptitude; and on the 12th of July the act of confederation was executed at Paris. The members were, the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the

Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and several minor German princes, who, separating themselves from the Germanic empire, appointed a diet to meet at Frankfort to manage their public concerns, and settle their differences; and chose Buonaparte for their protector. They established among themselves a federal alliance, by which, if one of them engaged in a continental war, all the others were bound to take part in it, and to contribute their contingent of troops in the following proportions:—France, 200,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3000; Berg, 5000; Darmstadt, 4000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4000; making a total of 258,000 men. A number of petty princes were deprived of their ancient rights of sovereignty, and these were transferred, without equivalent or indemnity, to the members of this federal union. The imperial city of Nuremberg was given to the King of Bavaria, and that of Frankfort on the Maine to the Archbishop of Ratisbon, formerly elector and arch-chancellor of the empire, and now prince primate of “the confederation of the Rhine.”

The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany, which, by a formal deed of renunciation, was resigned by Francis the Second, retaining only the more humble one of Emperor of Austria. The acquiescence of Prussia in these arrangements was purchased by the delusive hope that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under her protection, as the confederation of the Rhine was under that of France; but no sooner had the submission of Austria been secured than Prussia was told that Buonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan, being determined to take them under his own protection; and, as the Elector of Saxony was unwilling to contract the new obligations which

Prussia wished to impose on him, France could not see him forced to act against the interests of his people. The Elector of Hesse Cassel was invited to join the confederation of the Rhine, and some territorial addition was offered him, but he rejected the proposal, and a resolution was passed, by which he was cut off from access to part of his own states.

Buonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. Amongst other transformations, his younger brother, Louis, was selected to be King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gaieties of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people. The new constitution which accompanied the King had no guarantee but the will of its author, nor did he attempt to disguise that he considered Holland as virtually a province of France. He also strengthened his connexion with Bavaria by the union of a princess of that house with his step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, whom he adopted as his successor in the kingdom of Italy. He created a number of duchies in the countries conquered by France, and chiefly in Italy, which he conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in his service. Berthier was created Prince of Neufchatel; Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo; and Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento. Many of the marshals and generals were raised to the rank of dukes. Buonaparte's sister, Paulina, the wife of the Prince Borghese, received the principality of Guastalla; and his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, was appointed coadjutor and successor of the Archbishop of Ratisbon.

Whilst Buonaparte was carrying these projects into effect, the pressure of the French armies upon Germany was extreme, and a spirit of resistance was excited in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the appre-

hension of various booksellers, among whom the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, an imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person, the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," was arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a libel against the French emperor. A court-martial was immediately summoned, and, after sitting for three days, M. Palm was sentenced to be shot, which was carried into execution on the following day.

At length the court of Berlin assumed a tone of firmness; the King of Sweden cherished the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power of Buonaparte; the Prussian vessels detained in British ports were speedily liberated; and Lord Morpeth was despatched to Berlin, with offers of assistance in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France. On the 24th of September Buonaparte quitted Paris, to join the armies: so late, however, as the 5th of October, a despatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment. Within a few days after, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet.

The French, who had for some time been concentrating their forces at Bamberg, advanced in three divisions against the Prussian army, which had taken a strong position along the north of Frankfort on the Maine. The campaign opened on the 9th of October, when the left of the Prussians was turned, and they were compelled to retreat with considerable loss: on the 10th, the left wing of the French army, under Marshal Lannes, was successful at Saalfeld, where Prince Louis of Prussia was killed. The main body of the Prussians occupied Eysenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, but the

arrangements of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom, at the advanced age of 71, the chief command was confided, were suddenly changed in consequence of his right wing being unexpectedly turned by the French, who gained the eastern bank of the Saal, and cut him off from his resources.

On the morning of the 14th the great battle of Auerstadt or Jena commenced, in which 250,000 men, with 700 pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction. The courage and discipline on each side were perhaps equal; but the military skill was greatly superior on the part of the French, and after a most dreadful conflict the Prussians were finally defeated in every quarter. Their loss in killed and wounded exceeded 20,000; from 30 to 40,000 were made prisoners; and 300 pieces of cannon, with immense magazines, were taken: among the prisoners were more than twenty generals; Marshal Mollendorf was wounded, and the Duke of Brunswick and General Ruchel were killed. The French stated their loss at from 4 to 5,000 men; the victory, however, was complete, and decided the fate of the campaign.

All the principal towns in the electorate of Brandenburg, though strongly garrisoned, surrendered almost without resistance. Spandau and Stettin opened their gates on being invested, and Magdeburg, with a garrison of 22,000 men, capitulated to Ney, after a few bombs had been thrown into the city. Berlin was entered on the 25th, and the King of Prussia retreated to Königsberg, where, with scarcely 50,000 men he awaited the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by Russia.

Buonaparte, whose policy it was to make a friend of the Elector of Saxony, dismissed 6000 of his troops on their parole immediately after the battle of Jena. The Elector of Hesse was, on the contrary, deprived of his dominions; as was the Duke

of Brunswick. Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French; and Hanover was occupied by General Mortier. Their next object was the possession of Hamburgh, where all British property was placed under sequestration; the merchants and bankers were required to exhibit their accounts, summary punishment, by martial law, being denounced against those who should make false returns; and the English who remained in the city were put under arrest.

These proceedings were the prelude to a decree issued by Buonaparte at Berlin on the 20th of November, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the "Berlin decree." This edict alleged that England had violated the laws of nations, in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or otherwise engaged in commercial occupations; that she had extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it; that the monstrous abuse of this right had no other object but to aggrandize England by the ruin of the Continent; that all who dealt in English commodities, might, therefore, be justly regarded as her accomplices; and that, as it was a right conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against his adversary, it was decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all correspondence with her interdicted. This violent decree, and the apprehension of retaliatory measures on the part of England, occasioned great dismay in the commercial cities of the Continent.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, the King of Prussia applied to Buonaparte for an armistice; and though this request was refused, he was encouraged

to send a plenipotentiary to the head-quarters of the French army. Lucchesini, the Prussian negociator, arrived at Berlin on the 22d of October, and found that Duroc had been named to discuss with him the terms of the proposed treaty. The situation of his Prussian Majesty became every day more desperate, and a very short time was sufficient to show that no terms of peace, short of unconditional surrender, were to be obtained. An armistice was next proposed, and concluded on the 16th of November, but on terms so disadvantageous to Prussia, that the King refused to ratify the act of his minister, preferring rather to try still further the fortune of war.

The Russian General Bennigsen at length crossed the Vistula with 4000 men, and arrived at Warsaw on the 13th of November; but on receiving accurate information of the force opposed to him, he recrossed that river, destroying the bridge. About the end of November a rapid movement of the French cut off the communication of the Prussians with their allies, who experienced a series of reverses, which occasioned the commander-in-chief, General Kamenskoi, to retire to Ostrolenka. The command of the Russian army devolved on Bennigsen and Buxhovden, the former being stationed at Pultusk, and the latter at Golomyn. They were both attacked on the 26th, and driven from their positions with great loss, after which the French troops went into cantonments, and Buonaparte returned to Warsaw.

The Prussian monarch, while these disastrous events were taking place, experienced the utmost embarrassment. Austria preserved a prudent and cautious neutrality. The Emperor of Russia ordered a force of 600,000 men to be levied. Buonaparte, in the mean time, received perpetual reinforcements from the interior of France, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition.

The operations of the army in Silesia were suc-

cessfully conducted by Jerome Buonaparte. On the 8th of January, 1807, the city of Breslau surrendered; and its garrison, consisting of 5,500 men, became prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were rapidly taken, and the French armies were also employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Colberg, and Dantzic, the latter of which was of extreme importance.

Towards the end of January, Buonaparte quitted Warsaw, and joined his army. Various contests occurred early in February; and on the 8th, a general engagement took place at Eylau, between the French and Russians, in which, after a series of most sanguinary conflicts, continued throughout the entire day, both parties claimed the victory. The Russians, however, were compelled to retire behind the Pregel; and the French, after remaining some days on the field of battle, fell back on the Vistula. The havoc resulting from this dreadful contest occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements: the Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine shortly joined the Russian army with upwards of 60,000 troops; and the efforts of Buonaparte were unremitting.

The bombardment of Dantzic began on the 24th of April; but it was not till the 27th of May that the garrison, reduced from 16,000 to 9,000 men, marched out with the honours of war, engaging not to serve against France for twelve months.

The failure of Buonaparte's attempts to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy was followed by the seizure of Anclam and Grissewald, and Stralsund was invested. Several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, were not long after landed in Rugen and Stralsund, but their arrival produced no immediate interest.

The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate inducement to Buona-

parte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, nearly in view of each other, could not long remain inactive when the season was favourable to their operations; and on the 5th and 6th of June the Russians again attacked the French lines, and were again repulsed: on the 10th Buonaparte offered battle at Heilsberg to the Russians, who abandoned their intrenchments, leaving their wounded and magazines; and on the 14th was fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Friedland, which the French classed among their most splendid victories. One of its immediate consequences was the capture of Königsberg, containing large stores of grain, and 160,000 English muskets, which had not yet been landed. The Russians retreated toward the Niemen, crossed that river at Tilsit, burned the bridge, and continued their march to the eastward. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who had been there during the last three weeks, retired to Memel, that town and its territory being all that remained in the possession of the latter sovereign.

Buonaparte entered Tilsit on the 19th of June; and on the 22d an armistice was concluded, by which it was agreed that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners, and that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed to negotiate a peace. Three days afterwards an interview took place between the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparte, on a raft which had been constructed upon the Niemen. The conference lasted two hours, and was attended with mutual expressions of regard.

On the 7th of July the arrangements of pacification were completed. Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated between Pomerania and the Newmarke, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Netz. The Elector, now King of Saxony, took also the title of

Duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication by a military road through the Prussian territory, with his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part to the north of the Bug, which was incorporated with the dominions of the Emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town; East Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland; a new dominion, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the provinces ceded by Prussia, and others in the possession of Buonaparte; and the recognition of Jerome Buonaparte as its sovereign, also of the Kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was stipulated. Prussia consented to become a party in the maritime war against England; the Emperor of Russia and Buonaparte mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that England should, within one month, admit it; and the Emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of Buonaparte for the conclusion of peace with the Ottoman porte.

The King of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but his efforts were unavailing. He, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund, and returned into Sweden.

Towards the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by Turkey against Russia; and to oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of Sir J. T. Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles on the 19th of February, with orders to bombard

Constantinople, if certain terms were not acceded to. In passing between Sestos and Abydos they sustained a heavy fire, which they retaliated very severely, and the Turkish squadron was driven on shore and burnt by Sir Sidney Smith. The English then anchored near the Prince's Isles, about eight miles from Constantinople; and a proposal was made to spare the city on condition that the Turkish fleet should be surrendered, which was of course rejected, and defensive measures being pursued with the greatest activity, Sir J. T. Duckworth prepared for his departure while the passage of the Dardanelles was still practicable. On the 1st of March he repassed the castles, in which he sustained considerable loss, and thus, instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power was added to the list of England's enemies. The British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance; the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution; the power of France over the divan became materially strengthened; and Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was consulted on almost every emergency. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former, however, was generally successful; and, to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition of the Grand Seignior, Selim the Third, and the proclamation of Mustapha the Fourth. By sea, the Russians were equally successful as by land; and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought on the 1st of July near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the latter, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated.

The failure of the weak and injudicious attempt on Constantinople seemed, for a time, to have been in some degree compensated by the success of an expedition against another seat of the Ottoman power. On the 6th of March a force of 5,000 men, under the command of Major-general Mackenzie Fraser, sailed from Messina, and having effected a landing near Alexandria, speedily compelled that city to capitulate. Ulterior operations against Rosetta and Rhamanie were unsuccessful, and the troops retreated, fighting all the way to Alexandria, where they remained till September; when General Fraser, unable to cope with the enemy, entered into a negotiation; and having obtained the restoration of the British prisoners, consented to evacuate Egypt.

Some hopes were entertained that these reverses in the Mediterranean would be compensated by successes in South America. In October, 1806, ministers had sent out a reinforcement to the river Plate, under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and convoyed by Sir Charles Stirling, who was appointed to supersede Sir Home Popham in the naval command on that station. On arriving at Maldonado Sir Samuel determined to attack the strong fortress of Monte Video, the key of the river Plate; and on the 18th of January the troops, amounting to about 4000 men, were landed near the place, and repulsed a superior force which had been ordered out against them. A battery was erected, which, though exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, effected a practicable breach on the 2d of February; and orders were issued that the assault should be made next morning an hour before day-break. The enemy, in the mean time, had so barricaded the breach with hides, that the head of the assailing column could not in the darkness distinguish it from the untouched wall; and the men remained under a galling fire for a quarter of an hour, when it was at length discover-

ed by Captain Renny, who fell gloriously as he mounted it: the gallant soldiers then forced their way into the town, overturning the cannon which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and clearing the batteries and the streets with their bayonets. By sun-rise all was in possession of the British except the citadel, which soon surrendered; and early in the morning, highly to the credit of the troops, all was perfectly quiet.

When intelligence arrived in England of the recapture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, orders were sent by a fast-sailing vessel to direct General Craufurd, who had been sent against Chili with 4,200 men, accompanied by a naval force under Admiral Murray, to proceed with his armament to the river Plate. On the 14th of June he reached Monte Video, where he found General Whitelocke, who had arrived on the 9th of May from England, with a reinforcement of 1,600 men, and to whom was intrusted the chief command of the British forces in South America, with orders to reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres. Having, after fatiguing marches, nearly surrounded the town, he ordered a general attack to be made on the 5th of July, each corps to enter by the streets opposite to it, and all with unloaded muskets. The service was executed with great intrepidity, but with the loss of 2500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. No mode of attack could have been so ill adapted against a town consisting of flat-roofed houses, disposed in regular streets, intersecting each other at right angles. Volleys of grape-shot were poured on our columns in front and in flank as they advanced; and they were assailed also from the house-tops with hand-grenades and other destructive missiles. Sir Samuel Auchmuty succeeded in making himself master of the Plaza de Toros, where he took eighty-two pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of ammunition. General Craufurd with his brigade was cut off from all

communication with the other columns, and obliged to surrender; as was also Lieutenant-colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. On the following morning, General Liniers offered to deliver up the prisoners taken on this occasion, and also those taken from General Beresford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued; and that within two months from that date, Monte Video, and the other stations on the river Plate, occupied by the English troops, should be evacuated. He added that the exasperation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded; and that if hostilities were continued, it would be impossible to ensure their safety. These terms were no sooner proposed than they were yielded to by General Whitelocke, whose conduct called forth the most severe reprehension; and on his return to England he was tried by a court-martial, cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his Majesty in any military capacity.

Against these misfortunes the solitary acquisition of the Dutch island of Curacao is to be recorded. On the 1st of January, 1807, the capture was effected with inconsiderable loss, by a squadron of four frigates, under the command of Captain Brisbane.

The tranquillity of British India was interrupted in July, 1806, by an insurrection of the sepoy or native troops in the pay of the company, who attacked the European barracks at Vellore, and massacred 164 men before they were quelled. A rumour, that it was the wish of the British government to convert the sepoy by forcible means to Christianity, was the cause of this disaffection.

END OF VOL. IV.





Robins, James,

The History of England, during the Reign of George the Third

Bd.: 4

London (1821)

Brit. 485 I-4

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